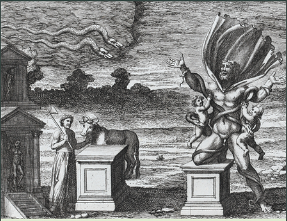
CRAIG KALLENDORF

THE PROTEAN VIRGIL

Material Form and the Reception of the Classics



CLASSICAL PRESENCES

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CLASSICAL PRESENCES

Attempts to receive the texts, images, and material culture of ancient Greece and Rome inevitably run the risk of appropriating the past in order to authenticate the present. Exploring the ways in which the classical past has been mapped over the centuries allows us to trace the avowal and disavowal of values and identities, old and new. Classical Presences brings the latest scholarship to bear on the contexts, theory, and practice of such use, and abuse, of the classical past.

The Protean Virgil

Material Form and the Reception of the Classics

CRAIG KALLENDORF

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In memoriam
Virginia Brown
1940–2009
Philip Ford
1949–2013

. . . manibus date lilia plenis
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
munere.

(*Aen.* 6.883–6)

(With full hands, give me lilies; let me scatter
These purple flowers, with these gifts, at least,
Be generous to my descendant's spirit,
Complete this service, although it be useless.)

(*The Aeneid of Virgil*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum
(New York: Bantam Books, 1972), p. 162)

Acknowledgements

Normally one of the most pleasurable parts of a project like this is to thank those who have helped bring it to completion. In this case, however, the task is complicated by the fact that, although I did not realize it until recently, I have been thinking about this book ever since I entered graduate school almost forty years ago, which means that everyone who has taught me anything about Virgil or about manuscripts and printed books, and everyone who has granted me access to the rare research materials on which work in this area depends, has contributed to the pages that follow. Yet while it is impossible to thank all of these people individually, I want to acknowledge how much of a collective enterprise this book has become and how grateful I am to everyone who has helped bring it to completion. My foray into the computer world took me farthest from my comfort zone, and I do feel a need to single out three people who played Virgil to my Dante here: Patrick Baker, whose casual comment over a beer in Münster made me realize I needed to write the fifth chapter, and Laura Mandell and Jacob Heil, who helped me do it. I should also thank my teenage son Trevor, who served as my guide to the world of Virgilian video games. Finally, I am grateful to the two anonymous readers engaged by Oxford University Press, whose comments have improved everything from the general argument of the book to translations in the footnotes.

I did not realize it at the time, but the first tentative steps in this project were taken over a decade ago, with the publication of 'The *Aeneid* Transformed: Illustration as Interpretation from the Renaissance to the Present', in *Poets and Critics Read Vergil*, edited by Sarah Spence (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 121–48, copyright 2001 by Yale University Press and used by permission. I have updated the references and integrated the argument into the larger plan of this book, but that chapter is the only one to have been published in substantially the same form before. Parts of Chapter 3 were presented to audiences at the University of Sydney, Harvard University, Ohio State University, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the University of Leiden, the University of Amsterdam, the Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana in Mantua, and the Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici in Sassoferrato, Italy, and I thank both those who invited me to speak and those who responded to what they heard.

It is customary for the authors of scholarly books to lament about how long it has taken to find the time to finish the work, but thanks to the generosity of two institutions that is not the case here. Shortly after the outlines of the project became clear in 2011, I received a grant from the Program to Enhance Scholarly and Creative Activities (PESCA) at Texas A&M University. One of the goals of this programme is to move a project along to the point where it can generate external funding, and by giving me a summer free of other responsibilities, PESCA allowed me to prepare a successful proposal for a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities. This fellowship year in turn did exactly what it was supposed to, allowing me to complete the research and write the book. In a time of shrinking support for research in the humanities, I am especially grateful for the confidence that these two institutions have shown in me.

Two of the people who have been vitally interested in the subject of this book and supportive of my work, Virginia Brown and Philip Ford, did not live to see its completion. Sadly, I dedicate the book to their memory.

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1

Material Instabilities

1.1. RECEPTION AND THE MATERIAL BOOK, I: INTRODUCTION

One of the more striking developments in classical studies over the last generation has been the explosion of interest in the reception of ancient authors. This field used to be referred to as 'the classical tradition' and was a decidedly marginal enterprise, engaged in by classicists and a handful of practitioners from other disciplines as a sideline to their usual activities, which involved the study of classical works in their original context as a way to stabilize both text and meaning at their point of origin. A growing number of specialists in Greek and Latin literature, however, are now turning their attention to how classical texts have been reinterpreted through a progression of later cultures. The new name, 'reception', acknowledges the new importance given to the receiving culture, which is increasingly understood not to have corrupted the original meaning of the work, but to have acted on the text to help create what it meant in a given time and place.[1]

One of the authors at the centre of this methodological development has been Virgil (70–19 BC). At first glance, it might seem strange that his poetry has retained a central place in Western culture from its initial publication through the modern era. For centuries education in the classics began with 'Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi' ('You, O Tityrus, resting under the cover of a spreading beech tree'), the first line of the *Eclogues*, ten short pastoral poems in hexameter verse. However, with subjects ranging from land confiscations to frustrated love, focused around shepherds who engage in rural singing contests while simultaneously participating in the urban literary culture of Rome, it is by no means obvious why these poems retained their appeal. The *Georgics*, a didactic poem on farming in four books, seems even less promising: while it is clear that the discussion of crops, trees and shrubs, livestock, and bees opens up somehow into a consideration of how human beings position themselves successfully in the world, the ostensible subjects seem to offer little poetic promise and the connections between those subjects and the more elevated themes are far from obvious. The *Aeneid*, Virgil's epic poem on the founding of Rome, seems to offer more to work with, but through the ages the poem has become less and less accessible, both because of the increasing remoteness of its cultural references and because its polished style requires a high level of expertise in a language that fewer and fewer people control well.

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[1] The change can be tracked through the names of the two main journals in the field, the older of which is called the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, the newer one, *Classical Receptions Journal.* As a glance at the table of contents in two recent handbooks, Craig Kallendorf, ed., *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007); and Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, eds, *A Companion to Classical Receptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), shows, reception as it has recently been practiced tends to focus more on modern material while the classical tradition embraces a longer chronological arc, but this seems to be changing.

Nevertheless, these poems have occupied a central place in Western culture, so it should not surprise us to find that there have been a good number of efforts to explain why this is so. If we turn as an example to Virgil's role in the civilization of the Renaissance, we find that two excellent general studies, by Andrew Wallace and David Wilson-Okamura, appeared recently in the same year. While much work has focused on the *Aeneid*, there are fine overviews of the *Eclogues* in the Renaissance by Annabel Patterson and of the *Georgics* by Anthony Low. Virgil's place in the works of several key Italian authors is examined in an important book by Elisabeth Klecker and in two earlier books of mine. Studies of the intertextual relationship between Virgil's poetry and that of individual Renaissance authors abound: a partial list would include Spenser (by John Watkins), Cervantes (by Antonio Barnés Vázquez), and of course Shakespeare (by Barbara Bono, Donna Hamilton, Heather James, and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton).[2]

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[2] Andrew Wallace, *Virgil's Schoolboys: The Poetics of Pedagogy in Renaissance England*, Classical Presences Series (Oxford and New York: Oxford University

As one might expect with a field in transition, studies like these do not always rest on a self-conscious examination of the first principles on which their research is based. Most of the books mentioned so far in this section nevertheless seem to rely on the same basic approach, which it has become fashionable to call 'intertextuality'. A scholar doing an intertextual study begins from the premise that two texts are related to one another and then tries to identify and explain how that relationship works.[3] This approach used to be called 'source study', which had the effect, perhaps intended, perhaps not, of suggesting that the first work was in some way superior to the second one, which was seen as being on one level at least a copy of it. In the same way as reception puts more emphasis on the receiving culture than the older label of 'the classical tradition', so intertextuality shifts the emphasis more to the later text. This is good as far as it goes.

The problem I see here is that reception and intertextuality, so conceived, rest on the assumption that works of literature are disembodied texts, words only that readers read and writers use to generate

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Press, 2010); David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology, Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Anthony Low, *The Georgic Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Elisabeth Klecker, *Dichtung über Dichtung: Homer und Vergil in lateinischen Gedichten italienischer Humanisten des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wiener Studien (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994); Craig Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989); Craig Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); John Watkins, *Spenser and Virgilian Epic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Antonio Barnés Vázquez, *'Yo he leído en Virgilio': la tradición clásica en el Quijote*, Publicaciones académicas, Biblioteca Cátedra Miguel de Cervantes (Vigo: Editorial academica del hispanismo, 2009); Barbara J. Bono, *Literary Transvaluation: From Vergilian Epic to Shakespearean Tragicomedy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1985); Donna Hamilton, *Virgil and the Tempest: The Politics of Imitation* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990); Heather James, *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, Politics, and the Translation of Empire*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, *Jonson, Shakespeare, and Early Modern Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[3] While much has been written of late on intertextuality in classical studies, two books that have been especially influential for their methodological reflections are Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, Roman Literature and Its Contexts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Lowell Edmunds, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

other words. There is obviously some truth here, but the assumption that this is the whole truth is only that—an assumption—and one that is open to challenge. And it has been challenged, as long ago as in the first manual on the art of printing to have been written in any of the vernacular languages, the *Institución y origen del arte de la imprenta*, composed around 1680 by Alonso Víctor de Paredes, a Spanish typesetter. In describing what he was producing, Paredes resorted to a metaphor:

> un libro perfectamente acabado, el cual constando de buena doctrina, y acertada disposición del Impresor, y Corrector, que equiparo al alma del libro; e impreso bien en la prensa, con limpieza, y asseo, le puedo comparar al cuerpo airoso y galán.
>
> (A perfectly finished book consists in a good doctrine, presented as it should be by the printer and corrector: this is what I regard as the soul of the book. And it is a good impression on a clean and well-maintained press that makes for what I would compare to a gracious and elegant body.)[4]

A book contains a text, 'a good doctrine', which is vital to it, as its very soul. But just as a person consists of a body as well as a soul, so a book is a physical object as well as a text. The metaphor proves to be unusually apt, in the sense that it can be pushed back to another level: just as cultural historians until recently have felt more comfortable in the realm of the soul than that of the body, so literary historians have tended to focus on texts at the expense of the physical forms that carry the texts. Indeed, David Kastan has recently labelled the idea that a work transcends its various physical incarnations 'platonic', in deference to the most culturally significant effort to separate mind and body at the expense of the latter.[5]

Yet once we question this assumption, it intuitively begins to feel wrong. While I was beginning to work seriously on this book, the former butler of Pope Benedict XVI, Paolo Gabriele, was arrested and tried on charges of taking and then leaking documents from the

---

[4] This passage is cited and translated in Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 31.

[5] David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 117–18. A good deal of stimulating work has been done recently on Shakespeare and the printed book, by such scholars as Leah Marcus and Peter Stallybrass.

Pope's apartment. The resulting scandal, which came to be referred to as 'Vatileaks', has attracted attention primarily for the accompanying allegations of corruption at the Vatican, but Gabriele's interest was not restricted to official papers and church policy. Among the items found in his apartment at the Vatican was a translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* in a sixteenth-century printed edition. Now if the *Aeneid* were really just a text, Gabriele could have gone down the street to a Feltrinelli or Mondadori bookstore and bought one of the many translations that were in print at the time. But for him, the body mattered at least as much as the soul—he wanted that copy, the sixteenth-century one, not one from the twenty-first century. It is symptomatic of the problem here, I would submit, that when CNN reported some months later on Gabriele's conviction, they again referred to the Virgil he had taken, but as a 'historic manuscript, worth at least one million dollars'. Bodies matter, but not enough to describe them correctly.[6]

The first fundamental premise of this book is that both form and content matter, and that both must be described accurately and analysed to produce a compelling interpretation. In other words, Virgil's poetry is not just a disembodied text, but a series of textual incarnations in a variety of physical forms. Therefore, to understand how this poetry was received through the ages, we have to take account of those physical forms as well as the texts they carry. I want to acknowledge immediately that others have made gestures in this direction: in *Virgil in the Renaissance*, for example, David Wilson-Okamura notes that if we want to read the same classics that later poets read, 'we need to read them in the bad, old, beautifully printed, sometimes horribly corrupt editions that Ariosto and Ronsard would have owned and studied'.[7] This is in fact what Wilson-Okamura did, and his book does an excellent job of recovering interpretations of Virgil's poetry that were only carried in the commentaries found in Renaissance editions. This is not the same project, however, as asking what difference it makes to read Virgil in a manuscript as opposed to a printed book.

My project has obviously been influenced as well by another current scholarly trend, the growing interest in book history.

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[6] Alan Cowell and Elisabetta Povoledo, 'Pope's Butler Indicted in Vatican Leak Case', *New York Times*, 14 August 2012, p. A5; and CNN, October 6, 2012.

[7] Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, p. 4.

A generation or two ago, almost all the researchers in the Anglo-American tradition who were looking at, for example, early printed books were textual scholars who realized that knowing something about how books were printed could help them in preparing critical editions of the authors they were studying. With the appearance of works like Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's *The Coming of the Book*,[8] scholars who are not involved in textual studies per se have also developed an interest in how books were produced, distributed, and read. Much of the most interesting work in this field also goes under the name 'sociology of texts', which looks more broadly at how human societies have constructed and disseminated meaning in textual and material forms.[9] In the last twenty years or so the history of the book has expanded to the extent that summer study programmes attract dozens of participants, and handbooks and anthologies of key articles have appeared.[10] While much work remains to be done here, we now know a great deal more than we did a generation or two ago about the technical aspects of book production.

With the exception of readership studies, however, most research in book history does not say much about how changes in typeface, for example, or distribution networks affect the understanding of individual texts. Again, the first steps have certainly been taken. Shane Butler's *The Matter of the Page*, for example, starts out in a promising way, as the author explains that 'any serious effort to make ancient poetry legible, therefore, must reconstruct, at least in part, its material habitat as a written text'.[11] Unfortunately he is quickly bedevilled by the same problem that would afflict any other classicist with this interest: the lack of surviving evidence. Classical texts were originally disseminated on papyrus rolls, but these rolls survive only in fragmentary form, if at all. This forces Butler to expand his focus, so he suggests that 'what may matter most about the material text is that it is the most obvious place where writers become their own first readers' (p. 11). He then develops a series of interesting and subtly developed studies of writers as their first readers, admitting that 'the present book will oscillate between materiality proper and materiality as trope, with a decided emphasis . . . on the latter' (p. 12).

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[8] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso, 1976), originally published in French as *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1958).

[9] This approach has been popularized by D. F. McKenzie in his widely cited 1985 Panizzi Lectures, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986).

[10] See, for example, David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds, *The Book History Reader*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2002); Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, eds, *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007); the Rare Book School at the University of Virginia, <http://www.rarebookschool.org/> (accessed 11 April 2014); and the California Rare Book School, <http://www.calrbs.org/> (accessed 11 April 2014).

[11] Shane Butler, *The Matter of the Page: Essays in Search of Ancient and Medieval Authors* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2011). Further references to this book will be placed in the text.

Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams have found enough physical evidence to keep their study focused on materiality proper in their work on Eusebius of Caesarea (*c*.260–339 AD).[12] Shortly after the turn of the fourth century, Eusebius combined the past history of ancient Assyria and Egypt, Israel and Persia, and Greece and Rome into the two books of his *Chronicle*. The first book, the *Chronography*, explains what the work is designed to do, especially its reliance on synchronisms, or years that allow the connection of events from one culture to another. The second, the *Canon* or *Tables*, assembles in table form the basic chronological information about some nineteen states, beginning with the patriarch Abraham and extending into Roman times. These tables marked a spectacular achievement simply in terms of the material they collected, but Grafton and Williams also argue that they represent an equally significant moment in book history. Relying on Origen's Hexapla, which used parallel columns to allow the comparison of different versions of the Old Testament, Eusebius's *Tables* manipulated the design of the page to show graphically how the preceding kingdoms and powers dissolved into the Roman Empire, which became the only column that continued into Eusebius's own day, the climax of world history to that point. Here the physical layout of the manuscript became part of its theme: that history was a polyglot, multicultural affair, but that one culture was allegedly superior to the others. Grafton and Williams have done a beautiful job of freezing the camera and taking a clear picture of a decisive moment in which a change in book design becomes part of the meaning of the book itself. My goal is to set the movie camera in motion and follow that observation through time and space.

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[12] Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 133–77. See also Grafton's 'Codex in Crisis: The Book Dematerializes', in *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 288–324.

There is much more surviving evidence from the Renaissance than from antiquity, so Alexandre Vanautgaerden has plenty of material to work with in *Érasme typographe.* The goal of this book is to show how one of the most important authors of the Renaissance used the new print medium to control not only how his books were presented, but also how they would be read. Vanautgaerden rightly offers priority to the *editiones principes* (first printed editions of a work), with the intention to base his study 'on a material inquiry, to establish the link between the content of the works, the new ideas, and the form of the books'.[13] As one would hope, a number of very interesting observations emerge. Vanautgaerden shows, for example, that Erasmus understood how a printed book could be organized so that its exterior form (its *mise en page*) reflected its interior make-up (the ideas it carried) by controlling the title page, the setting of the text, prefatory material, indices, etc. He also came to understand that printing could be seen and used as a form of rhetoric, serving as a type of delivery (the fifth and final part of rhetoric) that helped take the reader where the author wanted him or her to go. The manuscript of the *Life of St. Jerome*, for example, that Erasmus sent to the printer survives and shows how Erasmus marked up the text to underline its rhetorical structure. Vanautgaerden's study establishes clearly that Erasmus's success depended on both the new ideas he proposed and his mastery of the physical means of disseminating those ideas, but in the end his book does not tell us as much as we might like about how the meaning of *The Praise of Folly* is tied to its physical state as an early printed book.

In *Inscription and Erasure*, Roger Chartier, one of the leading practitioners of book history today, comes a little closer to what I am trying to do in this book. His project involves studying particular texts that internalized the graphic culture of their time, such that the subject of writing becomes writing itself in several key places. In the second part of *Don Quixote*, for example, Cervantes has his protagonist enter a print shop. This focuses attention on the role of printing in the novel, which emerges again through an error when Sancho's ass is stolen, but then reappears without explanation several chapters later. Authorial negligence, errors in composition, and the inattentiveness of proofreaders all play their role in making a book, which is now clearly understood as an imperfect union of soul and body, not just a text that exists in a pure state as Cervantes originally conceived it. But as Chartier freely admits, the succession of wax tablets, *librillos de memoria*, handwritten newsletters and manuscripts, and printed books becomes, in the hands of a group of talented writers, a series of 'literary motifs intended to delight, amuse, or divert the reader'.[14]

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[13] Alexandre Vanautgaerden, *Érasme typographe: humanisme et imprimerie au début du XVI^{e} siècle,* Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 503 (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, and Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012).

The pages that follow take this approach one step farther, focusing on the poems of one author and asking how the material form in which that poetry was disseminated became not just a literary motif, but an integral part of the succession of meanings which serves as the reception history of the poems. In doing so, I intend to suggest how the Virgilian material I shall be examining can guide us towards a richer, fuller kind of reception study than we generally see today. To explain what I mean, I would like to turn to a fine little book, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception*, that was published twenty years ago by Charles Martindale. Martindale can sometimes be a bit of a provocateur, as a way to get people to think more carefully about what they are doing, and at the time it was originally published this book was more than a little inflammatory. In explaining how reception works, Martindale proposed:

> two theses, one 'weak' and the other 'strong'. The weak thesis is that numerous unexplored insights into ancient literature are locked up in imitations, translations and so forth . . . The 'strong' thesis is that our current interpretations of ancient texts, whether or not we are aware of it, are, in complex ways, constructed by the chain of receptions through which their continued readability has been effected. As a result we cannot get back to any originary meaning wholly free of subsequent accretions.[15]

As Martindale readily admits, the weak thesis is 'uncontroversial' because in the end, it does not change much: the tools of philology can continue to anchor the authoritative text and meaning of a work of classical literature in the culture within which it was produced, while the emerging field of reception studies can identify interesting places in which the authoritative version of that text interacted with the norms and values of later cultures. The inflammatory thesis is the strong one, the argument that any understanding we might have of a Greek or Latin text is necessarily tied to 'the chain of receptions', the history of previous interpretations of that text. As he put it, 'We cannot get back to any originary meaning wholly free of subsequent accretions.' If this is the case, then we can never really succeed in recovering the exact words of the text as it was originally written, nor can we anchor meaning in an authoritative interpretation that is grounded in authorial intention and the culture in which the work was produced, viewed objectively. In other words, textual and hermeneutical stability is forever unattainable; all we have is a series of receptions.

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[14] Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure,* p. 142.

[15] Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Interpretation*, Roman Literature and Its Contexts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 7. 'Redeeming the Text: Twenty Years On', a special issue of the *Classical Receptions Journal* 5/2 (2013), explores the continued importance of Martindale's book for current work in the field.

The second fundamental premise of this book is that focusing on the succession of material forms in which a work of ancient literature has been read supports Martindale's strong thesis, undermining the philological quest for stability and providing a new, stronger foundation for reception studies. At first glance, this might not seem to be the case. Textual criticism as it has been traditionally practiced, for example, acknowledges the importance of the material, in that it recognizes that textual traditions are bound to the manuscripts and early printed books that carry the various versions of the text being studied. The connection is somewhat more tenuous when we move from text to interpretation, but even here it seems clear that the efforts to position a work of ancient literature in its original context often take place in written form, that these ideas must circulate in books and articles to gain traction, and that literary criticism at a high level requires access to a good library. Classical philology, in other words, has material roots as well. In the end, however, I will argue that focusing on the material does far more to destabilize the traditional search for a stable text and an authoritative interpretation than it does to support them.

1.2. THE GRAND NARRATIVE OF TEXTUAL STABILITY

One of the more influential studies in late twentieth-century book history is Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of*

Change. In this book Eisenstein argues that 'print culture' is defined by certain inherent characteristics, two of which are standardization and fixity. What she means by this is that print allows the same text to be mass produced, ending the constant need to remove scribal errors that plagued manuscript culture and allowing correct canonical texts to be disseminated in a fixed, permanent form. She notes in passing that as with everything made by people errors occasionally crept in, but print offered the means to correct them, so the 'need to qualify the thesis of standardization is less urgent than the need to pursue its ramifications'.[16] This has led to a proliferation of casual references to print as 'what made it feasible to put on the market a large number of identical copies at any given time',[17] and to an often-unexamined assumption that these identical copies contained stable texts that came much closer than ever before to what authors, including those of antiquity, originally wrote. The humanist scholars and teachers who drove the intellectual engine of the Renaissance placed a high value on accurate texts as a way of gaining access to the language and culture of antiquity,[18] and since many of those same men worked as editors and correctors for the first presses, it has seemed reasonable to conclude that 'the vital mission of printing was the diffusion of ancient texts in their pristine purity, an age when philology was queen', as Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin put it in their seminal *The Coming of the Book*.[19]

At first glance one would assume that the appearance of Virgil's poetry in print should offer an unusually straightforward confirmation of this story. Many classical texts rest on a bewildering array of manuscripts that were produced centuries after they were written, but Virgil's poetry was transmitted by more manuscripts from late antiquity than any other Greek or Latin author. Three manuscripts from the fourth through the sixth centuries—the Codex Mediceus (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 39.1 + Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3225), the Codex Palatinus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1631), and the Codex Romanus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3867)—survive more or less complete, with four more—the Codex Vaticanus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3225), the codex Augusteus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3256 + Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, lat. 2° 416), Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XL (38), and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 1394—offering at least partial witnesses from the same period.[20] Many of these manuscripts were known and used by humanist scholars: the Mediceus, for example, was seen by Giovanni Andrea Bussi (1417–75), who edited the *editio princeps* of Virgil (LW1469.1),[21] and the same manuscript was used as a source for occasional corrections by the editor of the Venetian edition of 1472 (either LW1472.2 or LW1472.5), provided a few readings for the 1501 Aldine edition (LW1501.1) and for the 1514 Aldine (LW1514.2) edited by Andrea Navagero (1483–1529), and was quoted in the *Virgilius collatione scriptorum Graecorum illustratus* (LW1567.9) of Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600).[22] With material like this to work with, it would seem that humanist editors who repeatedly boasted about the number and age of the manuscripts they consulted would have quickly produced a pristine text of Virgil's poetry and used the potential of print to stabilize that text, producing thousands of identical copies.

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[16] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 43–159, with the quotation on p. 81.

[17] The quotation is from S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, ed. John Trevitt (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, and London: The British Library, 1996), p. 7, a definitive account that is often used as a text in book history courses. Marshall McLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968) also refers to 'the assumption of homogeneous repeatability derived from the printed page' (p. 144).

[18] Eugenio Garin, *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic Life in the Renaissance*, trans. Peter Munz (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

[19] Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 143; cf. p. 253, where the authors write that the humanists 'were eager to encourage the setting up of presses with a view to making it at last possible to have access to correct texts and to make them widely known'. Like the works of Eisenstein and Steinberg, this book has been enormously influential in setting the agenda for book historians in the early modern period.

Unfortunately this is not what happened. There are two reasons for this, one of which has to do with how books are actually printed on a hand press. Eisenstein's model rests on the assumption that a correct version of what is being printed, called a copy text, is simply reproduced in print, but that is not always the case: sometimes the copy text was misread by the printer, at other times it was deliberately altered in a mistaken effort at correction, and at times problems arose from the printer's efforts to estimate how much of the copy text would go on each final printed page (called casting off). A given group of pages was often proofread while being printed, and if errors were found, the printing process was suspended, leading to stop-press corrections; in this case, the pages printed afterward would be different from those printed beforehand. Sometimes, when the finished sheets were brought together, it was discovered that there were not enough of some quires, which then had to be reset and reprinted, producing different versions of those pages as well. As a result, anyone who has examined carefully a reprint and the edition from which it was set will find variations, as will anyone who has examined two copies of the same edition.[23] So much for identical copies.

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[20] L. D. Reynolds, 'Virgil', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L. D. Reynolds et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 433–6.

[21] Throughout this book early printed editions will be identified through a reference to my *A Bibliography of the Early Printed Editions of Virgil, 1469–1850* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2012), placed in the text.

[22] E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book*, Sather Classical Lectures, 44 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 12–13, 48–9.

The other reason that the printing press failed to stabilize the text of Virgil's poetry is connected to how texts were constructed in the age of print. The humanists themselves boasted of their recourse to the ancient manuscripts as they worked to improve the texts of the classics, and it is true that advances were made during this period. The most rigorous proponent of *emendatio ope codicum* (emendation based on manuscripts), Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), began the movement towards the consistent use of older manuscripts, and Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) arrived in passing at the concept of the archetype, the first manuscript before the textual tradition divides. Textual work in the sixteenth century was dominated by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) and by French classicists like Adrien Turnèbe (1512–65), Denis Lambin (1520–72), Pierre Daniel (1530–1603), and Pierre Pithou (1539–96). In the seventeenth century the centre of manuscript studies passed to the Netherlands, with Nicolaus

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[23] Joseph A. Dane, *What Is a Book? The Study of Early Printed Books* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), pp. 79, 192. See also Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), which also serves as a good general introduction to books printed on a hand press. Kenney, *The Classical Text*, p. 19 n. 1, claims that the practice of mixing sheets from different states did not happen very often with classical texts, but I have not seen any evidence that this is true.

Heinsius (1620–81) being especially renowned. After him, Richard Bentley (1662–1742) achieved notable success as a textual critic.[24]

The problem here is that prior to the middle of the nineteenth century there was no systematic theory guiding the practice of textual criticism. As several scholars have pointed out, the humanist editor of the *editio princeps* generally began by transcribing whatever manuscript was most accessible, usually a late one with no particular claim to textual authority. This became the commonly accepted text, which was then handed down from one edition to the next with only minor changes. Alterations were made when clear problems in the text drove the editors to emend, either through conjecture or through reference to one or more other manuscripts.[25] Even in the latter case, there was no systematic effort to identify the best manuscripts, organize them, and collate their readings. It is therefore no surprise that the actual results of this activity do not map well on to the heroic narrative of textual purity associated with the new technology of print—in fact, the evidence seems to suggest the opposite, that printing may well have made a bad situation worse. In the preface to his 1472 edition of the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, Giorgio Merula (1430–94) complained that the commercial pressures connected with printing produced such a flood of poorly prepared books that he feared that the new invention had done more harm than good, and Marcantonio Coccio (better known as Sabellico, 1436–1506) echoed the same complaints in his edition of Livy (1491). Five hundred years later E. J. Kenney came to a similar conclusion.[26] This may be going too far, but Glenn W. Most is undoubtedly right to have noted that there was nothing inherent in the art of printing that forced fundamental changes in how texts were constructed.[27]

When we turn specifically to Virgil, we see that even the large number of unusually old textual authorities did not lead to any significant improvement in the general situation. Several years ago Matteo Venier confirmed in detail what had long been suspected, that the texts in the Virgilian incunables (books printed before 1501) reflect the general practices of the age.[28] The Roman printers of the *editio princeps*, Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, set the book from a late manuscript that had been hastily corrected by Bussi, the editor, and printed it in 1469 (LW1469.1). Editions founded on better manuscripts appeared in Strasbourg and Venice over the next few years, but Bussi's had been printed first and by 1475 it had driven all its competitors from the market. From that point on the growing number of editions converged through contamination, leading to what we can see from the copies of five editions (the 1493 Zani et al. (LW1493.2), the 1494 Leonhard Pachel (LW1494.3), the 1495 Zani (LW1495.2), the 1497 Bevilaqua (LW1497.1), and the 1499 Sacon (LW1499.1) editions) now found in the Junius Spencer Morgan Virgil Collection at Princeton, which are page-by-page reprints of one another.[29] A few editions, like the 1501 Aldine (LW1501.1), refer to the early manuscripts, but detailed examination shows that the editors of these editions failed to make effective use of their resources. An especially disappointing example is provided by the 1510 Giunta (LW1510.2) edition, whose editor, Benedetto Riccardini (d.1506), used Poliziano's notes without either attribution or skill, all the while boasting of his work with the ancient manuscripts. Within this general environment, the emendations in the *Castigationes et varietates Virgilianae lectionis* (LW1521.2) of Pierio Valeriano (1477–1558) proved especially welcome, but again they offered emendations, not a new text based on the consistent use of the best older manuscripts.

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[24] Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, ed. and trans. Glenn W. Most (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 45–57.

[25] Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, pp. 45–57; see also Kenney, *The Classical Text*, pp. 18–19; and L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 208–9.

[26] Kenney, *The Classical Text*, pp. 3, 17.

[27] Glenn W. Most, 'Introduction', in Timpanaro, *Genesis*, p. 9.

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[28] Matteo Venier, *Per una storia del testo di Virgilio nella prima età del libro a stampa (1469–1519)*, Nuove tesi (Udine: Forum, 2001). The information in this paragraph is based on Venier's study.

[29] Detailed descriptions of these books may be found in my *A Catalogue of the Junius Spencer Morgan Collection of Virgil in the Princeton University Library* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2009), pp. 40–6. It should be noted that early editors often complained about the problems caused by the conditions under which they had to work. In the preface to the edition of Virgil's works published by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Rome in 1471, for example, Giovanni Andrea Bussi complained that he would have been able to improve the text considerably if he had been able to pry the 'antiquissimum Virgilii exemplar, maiusculis characteribus descriptum' ('the very old copy of Virgil written in capital letters') out of the hands of Pomponio Leto for enough time to collate it against his earlier text. This may well have been no more than an excuse for what Bussi recognized as inadequate work on his part, but it still indicates an awareness of the problem (Fabio Stok, 'Il nuovo Virgilio fra Pomponio Leto e Niccolò Perotti', paper delivered at the 34th Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, Sassoferrato, Italy, 5 July 2013).

The second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries present a group of books from famous presses—the Aldine in Venice, Plantin in Antwerp, Estienne in Paris and Geneva, and Henricpetrine in Basel—whose scholarship was not always equal to their beauty.[30] Textual advances were gradually made, however, beginning with Georg Fabricius (1516–71), Theodor Poelmann (1511–81), and Joseph Justus Scaliger; Fabricius also worked on Servius and Donatus, with the text of the former being improved again by Pierre Daniel. Textual innovation often shaped discussion in the important commentaries from this period, which included the ones published by Germain Vaillant de Guélis (1516–87), Jakob Spannmüller (called Pontanus, 1542–1626), Juan Luis de la Cerda (*c.*1558–1643), and Friedrich Taubmann (1565–1613), with the massive, three-million-word effort of La Cerda having the greatest influence.[31] A more popularizing summary of what was known at this time was available from Thomas Farnaby (*c.*1575–1647), whose work was first published in 1634 and was still being reprinted at the end of the next century.

The period from 1636 to 1717 is dominated by the Virgilian scholarship of Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and his son Nicolaus. The product of almost thirty years' work, the father's text was first published in the 1636 Elzevier (LW1636.1). At his death, the work was continued by Nicolaus, 'who seems to have been born for the restoration of Roman poetry, and who devoted thirty years to the emendation of Virgil's text'.[32] His version was first published in the 1664 Elzevier (LW1664.1) and served as the basis for such important later editions as that of Henry Laughton (LW1701.1). The commentary market in this period was also dominated initially by the Dutch, especially through variorum editions by Kornelis Schrevel (1608–64) and Jakob van Emenes (d.1679). In 1675, however, Charles de la Rue (1643–1725) published the first edition of his Delphin commentary (LW1675.1), prepared for the use of the crown prince of France; it was reprinted regularly into the nineteenth century. The 1682 second edition (LW1682.1) replaced the text of Fabricius and Poelman with that of Heinsius, further solidifying the dominance of this version. In the school market, Farnaby's edition was joined by those of Nicolas Abram (1589–1655) and Joseph de Jouvency (1643–1719), then by that of Jan Minell (1625–83), which was still in print in the middle of the nineteenth century.

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[30] The outline of the periodization developed in the next few paragraphs can be found in the 'Index editionum P. Virgilii Maronis Fabriciano adhibitis Heynii, Harlesii novisque curis auctior et in quinque aetates digestus', in *P. Virgilii Maronis opera accedit M. Manilii Astronomicon cum notitia literaria studiis Societatis Bipontinae*, 2 vols (Zweibrücken: Ex typographia Societatis, 1783), 2:277–357.

[31] A good introduction to this commentary may be found in Andrew Laird, 'Juan Luis de la Cerda and the Predicament of Commentary', in *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, edited by R. K. Gibson and C. S. Kraus (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 171–203. The 1642–7 edition of the commentary has been scanned and is accessible through the website of Prof. Joseph Farrell (University of Pennsylvania) at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~jfarrell/index.html> (accessed 11 April 2014). It is worth noting, given the subject of this book, that the online access to this commentary has stimulated considerable interest in it of late; see, for example, Craig Kallendorf, 'Epic and Tragedy: Virgil, La Cerda, Milton', in *Syntagmatia: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*, edited by Dirk Sacré and Jan Papy (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 579–93; and Michael C. J. Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes: Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's Aeneid*, The Amsterdam Vergil Lectures, 1 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), p. 159 n. 94.

Virgilian scholarship from 1717 to the end of the eighteenth century was dominated by three men: Pancratius van Maaswyck (1658–1729), Pieter Burman the elder (1668–1741), and Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812). Van Maaswyck's text, which was first printed in a deluxe edition (LW1717.1) and served as the basis for several important eighteenth-century printings, was severely criticized by Pieter Burman the elder, who showed that the text does not, as van Maaswyck claims, rely on a Parisian manuscript of great value, but on Heinsius's printed version. Burman's textual notes, which were published by the Amsterdam printer Jacob Wetstein (LW1746.1), essentially completed the work begun by Nicolaus Heinsius, although the final touches were added by his nephew Pieter Burman the younger (1713–78) after his death.[33] Eighteenth-century Virgilian scholarship reached its high point with the commentary of Heyne, first printed from 1767 to 1775 (LW1767–1775.1) and expanded into a definitive third edition at the turn of the century (LW1797–1800.1). This commentary, which integrated its detailed observations into a systematic appreciation of Virgil's poetic genius, stands as the first truly modern work of Virgilian scholarship.[34]

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[32] The judgment is that of Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4th edn, 2 vols (London: Harding and Lepard and G. P. Whittaker, 1827), 2:549.

[33] This set of scholarly interconnections is worked out clearly by Bernd Schneider in *Vergil: Handschriften und Drucke der Herzog August Bibliothek*, Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek, 37 (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1982), p. 103. On Daniel Heinsius's life and works, see Annie Duprat and Colette Nativel, 'Daniel Heinsius', in *Centuriae Latinae: cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, edited by Colette Nativel (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997), pp. 417–25.

In the end, however, Heyne's text did not rest on a foundation that was much more solid than that of his sixteenth-century predecessors. In part this is because his genius lay with commentary rather than textual criticism, but the problem was also due to the lack of significant methodological advance in the latter area. This issue was addressed by others, producing what is generally still called the 'Lachmann method', after Karl Lachmann (1793–1851). In fact Johann August Ernesti (1707–81) and Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) anticipated key elements of this method well before Lachmann's famous edition of Lucretius was published in 1850,[35] and Sebastiano Timpanaro has shown that what goes under Lachmann's name was very much a shared discovery involving a good many scholars. Be that as it may, the Lachmann method abandons the vulgate and focuses on the older manuscripts of a given author at the expense of the later humanistic ones, reconstructing the relationship among them and producing a genealogical stemma that leads back to the archetype. Once the relationship among the manuscripts is clear, the correct readings can be identified. The idea is to generate a clear picture of how the manuscripts were produced so that the editor does not have to rely on his or her judgment alone. In theory, any scholar given the same evidence should come up with the same result: a stable text that can be reproduced in a potentially unlimited number of printed copies.[36]

Unfortunately with Virgil, things did not work out like this. Otto Ribbeck (1827–98) produced a text of Virgil's poetry shortly after Lachmann's Lucretius was published, but it was not the last word, with important editions by Remigio Sabbadini (1850–1934), R. A. B. Mynors (1903–89), and Mario Geymonat (1941–2012) following in the twentieth century and a new text by Gian Biagio Conte

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[34] The biography by Heyne's son-in-law Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, *Christian Gottlob Heyne, biographisch dargestellt* (Göttingen: J. F. Römer, 1813), remains fundamental, but see also Friedrich Klingner, 'Christian Gottlob Heyne: Jubiläumausgabe der Vereinigung Göttinger Bücherfreunde zur Zweihundertjahrfeier der Georgia Augusta, 1937', in *Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Zürich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1964), pp. 701–18.

[35] Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 207–41.

[36] Timpanaro, *Genesis*, pp. 25, 58–118. See also Most's 'Introduction', pp. 9–11.

(b.1941) being published in 2009. The problem is that even with a text of a major author that is carried by a significant number of ancient manuscripts, the stemmatic method is more difficult to apply in practice than the simplicity of the theory suggests. To start, the consensus among these editors is that after 150 years of effort, the key Virgilian manuscripts cannot really be sorted stemmatically, since horizontal contamination introduces untidiness into the effort to organize the textual witnesses vertically, so that in the end it cannot be proved that there was only one ancient archetype. Mynors, picking up from Ribbeck and followed in turn by Geymonat, drew attention to the value of the Carolingian manuscripts as sources when the ancient witnesses did not produce a good reading; the indirect tradition offers some 300 additional variants.[37] All of this evidence has to be sifted through and evaluated, which explains the current state of the problem: different editors given the same evidence have not come up with the same result. After surveying this situation, Giuseppe Ramires, one of the best of the current generation of Virgilian editors, notes that we are left with ‘a strong sense of inadequacy, a feeling of despair’, and he concludes that we will probably never know what Virgil really wrote but that new editions will continue to be made anyway.[38]

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, scholars have produced two explanations for the failure of the Lachmann method to produce the textual stability it promised. Giorgio Pasquali has analysed the situation from within the field of classics, and argues elegantly and in detail that the variety of textual situations is ultimately reducible to only one rule: that each problem dictates the terms of its own solution. As Glenn Most puts it, Pasquali 'ends up performing a deconstruction of traditional manuals of textual criticism, but from within the genre'.[39] The other possibility is to go outside that genre and start afresh, with different first premises entirely. This is the path that Jerome McGann took in his widely cited *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Trained within the Anglo-American tradition of textual criticism, McGann ended up rejecting the basic premise of the Lachmann method, that the goal of textual criticism was to restore the authoritative version of the text that the author had produced but others had later corrupted. He notes that texts only get disseminated after a series of negotiations: they are edited, sometimes with the author's cooperation, sometimes without; they can be censored or altered due to commercial or political demands; they can go through multiple drafts and revisions, with or without the full consent of the author; if they are to be printed, then the texts must then be typeset, which can produce another set of textual changes, and so forth. No text, McGann argues, has ever been published without these negotiations, and it is more useful to acknowledge them and study their role in the making of a text than to try to purge them away. In other words, McGann challenges directly the Romantic notion of the isolated literary genius that stands behind traditional textual criticism, concluding that the authoritative text is therefore always one that has been socially constructed, not the one produced by the author alone.[40]

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[37] Giuseppe Ramires, in *Vergilius* 58 (2012): 122–33 offers what is ostensibly a review of P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, ed. Gian Biagio Conte, Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) and the Spanish national edition edited by Luis Riverio García et al., 4 vols (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 2009–2011), but is in fact a magisterial summary of the current state of Virgilian textual studies. The other works mentioned in this discussion are P. Vergilius Maro, *Opera: Prolegomena critica*, ed. Otto Ribbeck (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1866); P. Vergilius Maro, *Opera*, ed. Remigio Sabbadini, 2 vols (Rome: Regia officina polygraphica, 1930); P. Vergilius Maro, *Opera*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); and Publio Virgilio Marone, *Opera*, ed. Mario Geymonat (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2008), a revision of the 1973 edition by Geymonat. See also Fabio Stok, ‘Il Virgilio del XX secolo’, *Paideia* 66 (2011): 583–609; and Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti antichi e tradizione indiretta*, Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere ‘La Colombaria’, Studi, 195 (Florence: Olschki, 2011), with Ramires’s review in *Res Publica Litterarum* 26 (2003): 210–22.

[38] Ramires, review of Conte and Spanish national edition, pp. 132–3.

For someone in search of the textual stability promised by Eisenstein and Lefebvre and Martin, this is a disconcerting conclusion, but it is one that makes sense in relation to my survey of textual work on Virgil through the era of the printed book. Joseph A. Dane puts it well: 'The basic procedures at press systematically violate what seems to be the *raison d'être* of printing: rather than creating multiple copies of the same thing, printing produces a sometimes messy array of individual things . . . Modern bibliographers are more apt to see that the actions of the press are productive of the very instabilities that we now find most interesting about literary texts.'[41] What is important here, I think, is that at the beginning of the twenty-first century 'epistemic indeterminacy'[42] has come to be seen not as something to be shunned, but as a reality to be embraced. Textual stability has turned out to be an illusion, at least within the world of print.

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[39] Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1934), reprinted several times. See also Kenney, *The Classical Text*, pp. 130–51, on twentieth-century textual criticism within the field of classics. For the quotation, see Most, 'Introduction', p. 18. It is worth noting that the traditional approach still has its adherents; see Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

[40] Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

1.3. THE GRAND HERMENEUTICAL NARRATIVE

In the same way as editors spent centuries trying to stabilize the text of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid* by recovering what Virgil originally wrote, commentators sought to ground their interpretation in what the author intended. Beginning with Maurus Servius Honoratus (late fourth and early fifth centuries), there was widespread agreement on what this was: 'the intention of Virgil was to imitate Homer and to praise Augustus through his ancestors',[43] primarily Aeneas. The first point has done a great deal to guide the appreciation of the *Aeneid* as literature, but it is the second that opens out into the broader concerns of this section.

Let us begin with Aeneas. Servius's observation is developed at length by the other great late-antique commentator to the *Aeneid*, Tiberius Claudius Donatus (late fourth century), who begins by explaining that the genre of the work is 'laudativum', or encomiastic.[44] That is, Donatus is participating in a tradition that confused poetry with rhetoric, such that a poem like the *Aeneid* is analysed as if it were an epideictic speech whose goal is the praise of virtue and the condemnation of vice.[45] Virgil's goal is therefore to show Aeneas as 'vacuus omni culpa et magno praeconio praeferendus' ('free of all guilt and one most worthy to be publicly presented with great commendation'), and Donatus tries to prove that Virgil praises Aeneas's virtues at all times: he is a good leader (on *Aen.* 1.159–79), pious towards the gods (on *Aen.* 1.379), chaste (on *Aen.* 1.310–20), handsome and brave (on *Aen.* 1.594–5), etc. What might appear to be shortcomings simply offer the poet/orator other opportunities to sing the praises of his hero. Juno's persecution does not result from any failing on Aeneas's part; rather, his patience in innocent suffering guides others 'ad bonam vivendi rationem' ('to an understanding of how to live well'; on *Aen.* 1.4). It is no crime to have fled a city destined by fate to fall; on the contrary, Aeneas turns his defeat at Troy to his credit by seeking something greater than he has lost (on *Aen.* 1.1). To Donatus, Aeneas emerges from his stay in Carthage with his reputation intact—Dido, after all, was chaste and beautiful but deceived by Cupid, 'ut etiam in eo existimationem non tantum ipsius Didonis verum etiam Aeneae poeta conservet' ('so that even in this respect the poet might preserve the good name not only of Dido herself but also of Aeneas'; on *Aen.* 1.720ff.). This basic approach dominated Virgilian criticism for centuries, well into the period of the printed book: Francesco Petrarca (1313–75), for example, wrote casually of Aeneas as having 'perfecti viri habitus moresque' ('the qualities and character of the perfect man'),[46] and two centuries later, in 'The Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh', Edmund Spenser (*c.*1552–99) wrote that in *The Faerie Queene* he has 'followed all the antique Poets historicall, first Homere, who in the Persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governour and a vertuous man, the one in his *Ilias*, the other in his *Odysseis*: Then Virgil, whose like intention was to doe in the person of *Æneas*'.[47]

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[41] Dane, *What Is a Book?*, p. 66.

[42] The phrase is Adrian Johns', from his *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 36. Johns' book is a carefully reasoned critique of Eisenstein's notion of print culture, as is Dane's 'The Myth of Print Culture', the lead essay in his *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 10–31.

[43] G. Thilo and H. Hagen, eds, *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1878–1902; reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), on *Aen.* 1.1. For an introduction to this commentary and bibliography, see Don Fowler, 'The Virgil Commentary of Servius', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 73–8.

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[44] References to Donatus's commentary are to *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, ed. H. Georgii, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905–12) and will be placed in the text. The best modern study is that of Marisa Squillante Saccone, *Le Interpretationes virgilianae di Tiberio Claudio Donato* (Naples: Società editrice napoletana, 1985), who has argued that this commentary is of greater value than many modern scholars have realized.

[45] The importance of the approach developed in this paragraph was signalled decisively by O. B. Hardison, Jr, *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1962; reprinted Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1973), with the implications for Virgil worked out in Craig Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989).

[46] *Familiares* 10.4, in *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco, 4 vols, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, 10–13 (Florence: Sansoni, 1933–1942).

As Servius suggested, praise for Aeneas in this tradition was linked to praise for Augustus, who presented himself as Aeneas's descendant. As Brooks Otis, whose work on the *Aeneid* was extremely influential at the end of the twentieth century, put it, 'it seems quite plain that Virgil was himself a convinced Augustan'.[48] He lived through tumultuous times, and it was Augustus who brought order, peace, and stable values. For Otis, the *Aeneid* celebrates the creation of Roman civilization out of Homeric barbarism, a process by which Augustus brought to fruition what Aeneas had begun. Aeneas represents the 'elucidation of an ideal which represented Rome's best and true reason for being' (p. 390), and as such his victory marks the triumph of good over evil. Aeneas is the embodiment of 'pietas' ('piety') and 'humanitas' ('humanity'), having learned from experience and ceased to be the raging warrior and foolhardy lover he once was, while Turnus represents 'furor' ('rage') and Dido 'indignus amor' ('unworthy love'). This dualism persists through criticism at the end of the last century: Francis Cairns sees Aeneas as the good king, while Turnus displays more attributes of the bad king than the good one and Dido degenerates from the latter to the former.[49] Nicholas Horsfall summarizes this issue in his characteristically no-nonsense way: 'Aeneas remains right, as he always was.'[50]

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[47] Edmund Spenser, 'Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh', in *The Faerie Queene*, accessed on 12 December 2013 through David Radcliffe's website, Spenser and the Tradition: English Poetry 1579–1830, <http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?action=GET&textsid=102>.

[48] Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture, 20 (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995; reprint of Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963 edn), pp. 383–94, with the quotation on p. 389. Further references in this paragraph will be placed in the text.

[49] Francis Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[50] Nicholas Horsfall, *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2000), p. 216.

As Richard Waswo notes, the curious thing about Western civilization is that it is marked by a movement through which a succession of conquerors imposed their rule on various lands. The blueprint for this movement was the *Aeneid*, which saw the transfer of power from Troy to Rome, but the *translatio imperii* continued, with a succession of kings and emperors associating themselves with Aeneas and the Trojans as they declared themselves to be the successors of Augustus.[51] In *De monarchia*, Dante's Henry VII was cast as the heir of Aeneas and the saviour of *Eclogue* 4, while Charles V was assimilated to Aeneas, crushing blind fury in a statue by Leone Leoni. In his triumphal entry to Augsburg in 1549, to be confirmed as the heir to the Holy Roman Empire, Philip II identified himself in the same way as Henry VII had, an association that was strengthened by the phrase quoted on his funerary catafalque at Seville: 'imperium sine fine' ('rule without end', *Aen.* 1.279).[52] As one might expect, Virgil's association with a succession of European governments extended into many of the structures, both explicit and implicit, that those governments used to maintain the status quo. For the rich and powerful in the early modern era, education, for example, was rooted in the classics, and notwithstanding the extensive reading lists sometimes drawn up by ambitious schoolmasters, Virgil was one of a handful of authors that were regularly taught wherever European culture held sway. The values that Aeneas was thought to represent—self-sacrifice, courage, good leadership, patriotism, piety, respect for one's elders—were broadly compatible with Christian teaching, so Virgil's poetry was generally embraced by the church.[53] In other words, Virgil's poetry as interpreted by a succession of commentators extending all the way back to late antiquity provided some of the key strands in the net-like organization through which power was defined and exercised, as Michel Foucault put it.[54]

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[51] This point is developed in Richard Waswo, *The Founding Legend of Western Civilization: From Virgil to Vietnam* (Hanover, NH and London: University Press of New England, for Wesleyan University Press, 1997), a book that has not had the impact on Virgilian studies that I think it deserves.

[52] Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 1, 2–3, 113, 133–8, 204.

[53] On the role of the classics in European education, see Françoise Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*, trans. John Howe (London and New York: Verso, 2001). On the role of Virgil in particular, see Craig Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 31–90; and Wallace, *Virgil's Schoolboys.*

This interpretation of the *Aeneid*, in its variety of later manifestations, has been analysed at length elsewhere.[55] What has not been given its due, especially in scholarly discourse dominated by Foucauldian notions linking power to intangibles like language, is the importance of material objects like books as tangible markers of these power relationships. As an example, let us take the 1676 Elzevier (LW1676.1). This book contains the celebrated text of Nicolaus Heinsius, which had been published twelve years earlier by the same press, but it is of interest here for what it has become fashionable to call the paratext, a term popularized by Gérard Genette to describe the prefatory matter, commentaries, indices, and other material printed along with the text.[56] The book actually exists in three states: the book as it was originally published, a second state containing a dedicatory letter to King Louis XIV of France, and a third state with the dedicatory letter and some alterations in the accompanying letter to the reader. The alterations explain that these copies date to after the cessation of hostilities, which allowed Heinsius to dedicate the book to the King, something that was only possible in 1679.[57] Why would Heinsius return to this edition three years later and insert these sentences? To answer this question, let us look at the beginning of the dedicatory poem:

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[54] Michel Foucault, 'Lecture Two: 14 Jan. 1976', in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 98.

[55] For books and articles on Virgil's *fortuna*, see the annual 'Vergilian Bibliography' in *Vergilius*, prepared by Alexander McKay and Shirley Werner. A good orientation to older work is provided by the catalogue to an exhibition held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, 24 September–24 November 1981, M. Fagiolo, ed., *Virgilio nell'arte e nella cultura europea* (Rome: De Luca, 1981).

[56] Gérard Genette, 'Introduction to the Paratext', *New Literary History* 22 (1991): 261, which picks up on a term used in *Palimpsestes: la littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), p. 93. In 'Writing Print Cultures Past: Literary Criticism and Book History', *Book History* 15 (2012): 27, Michael Gavin stresses the importance of mining paratextual material to link books as material objects to how their contents were understood and how reading communities functioned.

[57] A. Willems, *Les Elzevier: histoire et annals typographiques* (Brussels: G. A. van Trigt, 1880), pp. 389–91 (nr. 1523).

Accipe Dardanium, veteris primordia Romae,
(Qui prior ut dextra est, sic pietate) ducem:
Crimine sed fati nec sic agitatus iniqui,
Et nactus faciles promeritusque Deos:
Fortunae constantis amor, Rex Gloria Regum,
Sacrum Pergameis accipe carmen avis.
Quo tuus Aeneas se munere jactat, & alte
Cruda Medusaeo fata triumphat equo. (f. ‡1r)

> (Receive the Dardanian leader, the origin of Rome of old—just as he was first in strength, so he was first in piety. But not thus harried by the wrongdoing of a cruel fate, and having deservedly obtained the favour of the gods, beloved by steadfast fortune, glory, king of kings, receive this sacred song from your Trojan forefathers. Your Aeneas boasts because of this gift and triumphs over savage fates high on his Medusan horse.)

Aeneas is depicted here as he usually was, renowned for strength and *pietas*, but he—or rather, Virgil's poem about him—is, as it were, handed over to Louis XIV, linking the two of them together, a link that is strengthened by referring to him as 'your Aeneas'. Heinsius next pats himself on the back briefly for his textual work, but he spends most of the poem praising the King, whose martial, diplomatic, and cultural accomplishments are embellished with all the trappings of classical culture. In other words, Heinsius has inserted the *Aeneid* into his own world, using it in an attempt to make his way among the rich and powerful of the day. Virgil's poem reinforces the way Louis XIV thought of himself, as the successor to Aeneas, but we only know this because Heinsius's edition of Virgil's poetry contains material other than the text.

This process continued with Louis XIV's son, as the paratext to the influential 1675 Delphin edition (LW1675.1) shows. This was one of twenty-five editions created for Louis, le Grand Dauphin, in the 1670s under the general direction of Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721). The editor, Charles de la Rue (1643–1725),[58] dedicates his edition to the future Louis XV by fusing Virgil's world with his:

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[58] De la Rue's commentary was reprinted often and was still in print in 1850 (LW1850.9). The original series was taken over and expanded by Abraham John Valpy (1787–1854), who published 186 volumes of the Greek and Latin classics along Huet's model between 1819 and 1830.

> Arma tibi Lodoice, sinit jam firmior aetas,
> Arma ferunt Musae: blandis illae artibus olim
> Te puerum solitae molles formare sub annos;
> Bella modo, aeratasque acies, animasque superbas
> Heroum veterum, & magnae capita ultima Romae
> Aeneamque Ilumque, sacro tibi vertice Pindi
> Deducunt alacres, tuaque ultro ad limina sistunt. (f. ā1r)

> (The Muses, Louis, bring arms to you, and your stronger age allows it. Once with their winning arts they were accustomed to fashion you as a child in your tender years. Now from the sacred peak of Pindus they eagerly bring you wars and bronze-clad battle lines and the lofty spirits of heroes of old, and the remotest origins of great Rome, Aeneas, and Ascanius, and they stand of their own accord at your doorstep.)

Reading the *Aeneid* is serious business, for as the young prince leaves childish things behind, he will turn to Virgil for instruction on how to become a warrior king. He must lead in battle, but he must also learn the arts, which have come from the Tiber to the Seine to show him the way. De la Rue's dedication places the *Aeneid* firmly into the 'mirror for princes' genre, using this reading of the poem as a way to mould the young prince into the kind of leader who could take his place at the head of the *ancien régime*.

As paratexts from the early printed editions show, Virgil's poetry helped to structure and maintain power relationships throughout Europe and the 'new' world. In the Netherlands, Jan Minell dedicated his commentary (LW1666–1667.1) to the city fathers of Amsterdam, in appreciation for the education he had received there and in hopes that other students could benefit as he had from this poetry.[59] Sometimes the dedication failed to insert the author into the power structure he was targeting: in his Italian translation of Book 1 of the *Aeneid* (IA1564.1), for example, Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara (*c.*1517–*c.*1572) approached an influential cleric, Cristoforo Madruzzo (1512–78), the Cardinal of Trent, for support to continue his work, but he did not get it, so that as far as I know the translation was never finished.[60]

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[59] This dedication can be found on ff. *3r–5v of the *editio princeps* of Minell's commentary (Rotterdam: Arnout Leers, 1666–7) and in a number of the later reprints.

[60] This edition offers an interesting lesson in patronage practices during the early modern period. The printed title page dedicates the book to Madruzzo, but Anguillara appears to have bought up much of the press run himself and distributed the copies to other potential patrons, whose names are found in handwritten dedications; see Craig Kallendorf, 'In Search of a Patron: Anguillara's Vernacular Virgil and the Print

Interesting in a different way is the first Portuguese translation of Virgil's collected works (PW1818–1820.1), which was published not in Portugal, as one would expect, but in Brazil. This edition contains the translation of Josè de Lima Leitão (1787–1856), which was presented to King João VI as a 'Monumento à elevaçao da colònia do Brazil a reino, e ao estabelecimento do trìplice impèrio luso' ('Monument to the elevation of the colony of Brazil to a kingdom, and the establishment of the triple Portuguese empire').[61] As the dedicatory letter notes, from the *Aeneid* 'appontarà em Vossa Majestade um nunca visto nùmero de pontos de contacto Moraes, e Polìticos com o Heroe desta Epopeia, o qual lançou os cimentos à mais primorosa Nação do Glôbo, e que em filial piedade, e em Reaes virtudes passarà sempre por modêlo' ('your majesty will point out a never-before-seen number of moral and political points of contact with the hero of this story, who has laid the foundations of the most perfect nation on the globe, and who in filial piety and in royal virtues will always be held as a model'; pt. 2, p. VII). In other words, Portugal's imperial power was simply the extension of Rome's, which had been founded on the same set of values and operating principles.

The examples presented so far have all been taken from what was printed in the book, thereby representing what was available to every reader. Early printed books, however, also contain material that is unique to each individual copy: ownership notes, for example, custom-made bindings, and notes left by early readers. These copy-specific data also tie Virgil's poetry securely into the dominant interpretation of the poem that supports the net-like organization through which power in the early modern period was defined and exercised, in imitation of what went on in the Rome of Virgil's day. I shall take my examples from a private collection of early printed editions of Virgil

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Culture of Renaissance Italy', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 91 (1997): 294–325.

[61] This edition is interesting from several perspectives, both as the work of a physician who served in Mozambique and India as well as Brazil and who wrote works on medicine and politics along with this translation, and as something of a bibliographical puzzle: the title page of the third volume is dated 1819, but according to the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 15 abr. 1820, it was actually published in 1820; see A. M. de Almeida Camargo and R. Borba de Moraes, *Bibliografia da Impressão régia do Rio de Janeiro (1808–1822)*, 2 vols (São Paulo: EDUSP Kosmos, 1993), 1:224 (nr. 669). This quotation is from the title page; other references to this translation will be placed in the text.

to which I have had access, but whose owner wishes to remain anonymous, although the same point could be made by using copies from other sources.

Given Virgil's place in early modern culture, we would expect to find his poetry in the libraries of political leaders through the ages, and we do: Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), the powerful councillor of state in France, owned a copy of the 1595 Leiden edition of the *Appendix Virgiliana* (LW1595.1);[62] a rare edition (LW1779.4) belonged to Sylvain Van de Weyer (1802–74), Belgian politician, ambassador to the United Kingdom, and Prime Minister; and Joseph Ludwig Graf von Armansperg (1787–1853), Minister of Finance in Bavaria, then chancellor of Greece from 1835 to 1837, owned a Latin text with commentary (LW1780–1782.1) by Henricus Braun (1732–92). Common as well were noble owners who simply retained a book they had used in school: the Morosini del Pestrino family of Venice owned a copy of the 1580 Aldine (LW1580.1), and eighteenth-century editions ended up in the libraries of the princes of Fürstenberg in Donauschingen (LW1719.1) and of Augustus Fitzroy, the third Duke of Grafton (1735–1811), Prime Minister of England (1768–70), then Lord Privy Seal (1771–5) until forced to resign for his conciliatory attitude towards the American colonies (LW1755.2). As the 1778 edition prepared especially for students at the École royale militaire (FW1778.1) shows, Virgil's works were considered necessary for training military leaders as well, with Anne Jean Pascal Chrysostom Duc-Lachapelle (1765–1814), royal military paymaster in Montauban, owning a copy of this book and other editions belonging to Friedrich Heinrich Reichsgraf von Seckendorf (1673–1763), Austrian field marshal and diplomat (FW1606.1), and Dietrich von Miltitz (1769–1853), Prussian general and founder of the Scharfenberger Kreis, a loose association of Romantic writers and intellectuals (T1810.1). It is perhaps not surprising that these officers preferred vernacular editions to ones in Latin, as did a number of business and professional people like Christian Hammer (1818–1905), the court jeweller to the Swedish royal family (FA1664.1),[63] and Achille Dufaud (b.1796), the son of and collaborator with Georges Dufaud, a pioneer of the French iron industry (FE1808.1),[64] who both owned French translations.

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[62] On de Thou's library, see Charles de Rohan, Prince de Soubise (1715–87), *Catalogue des livres, imprimés et manuscrits*... (Paris: Leclerc, 1788); this book is nr. 4748, on p. 328, of this catalogue. The editor of the volume, Joseph Justus Scaliger, was a friend of de Thou's from his school days. I. A. R. De Smet, *Thuanus: The Making of Jacques-Auguste de Thou* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), is an excellent intellectual biography.

Virgil in material form makes visible the nexus of power in the contemplative as well as the active life. A 1717 Halma edition (LW1717.1) was owned by Frances Mary Richardson Currer (1785–1861),[65] one of Europe's first female book collectors and a friend of Charlotte Brontë, who is thought to have chosen the pseudonym for several of her novels (Currer Bell) in tribute to her, while a 1757 Frankfurt edition (LW1757.5) was received as a birthday present by Vincent Weyand (1921–45), a Dutch poet who was arrested in 1944 for being homosexual and killed in Buchenwald the next year. Paul-Louis-Constant Destez, a French artist active in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century, also owned a copy of Virgil (LW1770.4). As one might expect, Virgil was often present in the libraries of teachers and professors like John Colbatch (1664–1748), a professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge who feuded with Richard Bentley over the management of Trinity College (EA1686.1), and John Keate D.D. (1773–1852), 'the greatest flogging headmaster' of Eton from 1809 to 1834, whose pupils included two Prime Ministers, Derby and Gladstone (EE1749.2). Copies from the school environment were often finished with special school bindings, which were then sometimes given away as prizes to students who performed especially well.[66] These bindings confirm the presence of Virgil's poetry in many of the best schools in Europe, including the Collège royal de Henri IV (LW1754.1) and the Lycée Louis le Grand, named Lycée impérial in 1805 (FE1808.1), in France; the school of St Stephen's Cathedral, Halberstadt (LW1779–1780.1) and the Stiftsgymnasium der Benediktiner in Seitenstatten (LG1838.1) among German speakers; Glasgow Grammar School (LW1800.1) in Scotland; and the Athenaeum Illustre, Amsterdam (LW1816.1) and the Latijnse School, The Hague (LW1816.1) in the Netherlands. Many schools in early modern Europe were associated with the church, so it is not surprising to find copies of Virgil in the libraries of a succession of powerful churchmen, including Mario Mattei (1792–1870), from an old noble Roman family, bishop of Frascati, Porto e Santa Rufina, and Ostia, named cardinal in 1832 (LW1585–1586.1), and Luigi Zanzottera, Bishop of Huaraz, Peru (d.2005) (LW1773.1), and of important clerical foundations like the abbey of Cîteaux, the centre of the Cistercian order (LW1583.1),[67] S. Pietro in Vincoli, the basilica in Rome that houses Michelangelo's *Moses* (Ce1591.3), and the Benedictine Abbey of Weingarten, Württemberg (LW1760.3).

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[63] This copy is nr. 13146 in the catalogue of Hammer's library, P. J. Lindal, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Hammer a Stockholm, division etrangère*, 9 vols (Stockholm: S. Stål, 1886–1888), 2:386 (nr. 13146).

[64] See G. Thuillier, *Georges Dufaud et les débuts du grand capitalisme dans la métallurgie, en Nivernais, au XIX^{e} siècle* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1859).

[65] This volume appears both in the *Library Collected by Miss Richardson Currer at Eshton Hall, Craven, Yorkshire* (London: J. Moyes, 1833), p. 429; and in the *Catalogue of the Principal Portion of the Magnificent Library of the Late Miss Richardson Currer, of Eshton Hall, Yorkshire* (London: S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson, 1862), Sotheby and Wilkinson sale, August 9, 1862, lot 2578.

[66] Prize bindings have attracted considerable interest of late. Much good information can be found in two exhibition catalogues: William B. Todd, *Prize Books: Awards Granted to Scholars, 1671–1935, in the Schools and Colleges of England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, France, Holland, Luxembourg* (Austin: University of Texas, Humanities Research Center, 1961); and Chris Coppens and Jan Storm van Leeuwen, *De prijs is het bewijs: vier eeuwen prijsboeken* (Leuven: Centrale Bibliotheek K. U. Leuven, 1991).

Examples could be multiplied ad infinitum, but this should suffice to show that the poetry of Virgil constitutes a significant strand through which power was manifested in early modern Europe. As Foucault has noted, however, the exercise of power tends to stimulate resistance, and that is true here as well. The rich and powerful modelled themselves on the praiseworthy virtues of Aeneas as they were reflected in Augustus, but as is often the case with poetry, another reading of the *Aeneid* is also possible. This interpretation emerges from something that has struck many readers of the poem: that the narrator shows a striking capacity to identify not only with Aeneas and the establishment of the new Roman state, but also with those who fall victim to him—Dido, whose sacrifice seems to represent the triumph of the public over the private; Turnus, who stands for the old heroic values that *pietas* evolves out of and for the rights of indigenous people to defend themselves against invaders; and a host of other minor characters like Marcellus and Camilla who are written out of the poem with an acute sense of pain and loss. Identification with both the protagonist and with those who oppose him complicates our understanding of the poem. As Gian Biagio Conte puts it:

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[67] This copy is particularly interesting because it lacks a title page. Since books in this period were generally shipped in sheets and bound by the purchaser, it is possible that the title page was simply lost in transit. A more likely explanation, however, is that it was removed deliberately by the abbey's librarian. The book was printed in Geneva by Henri Estienne after he had converted to Protestantism and fled France. The stench of heresy made the book unsuitable for a monastery, but once the title page was removed, its impious origins were no longer obvious. For this edition, see A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne*, 2nd edn (Paris: J. Renouard et cie., 1843), p. 150 (nr. 2); and F. Schreiber, *The Estiennes* (New York: E. K. Schreiber, 1982), p. 174 (nr. 211). On Henri Estienne's dedication, which was left in the book and led to its identification, see J. Kecskeméti et al., *La France des humanists: Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003), pp. 520–6.

> the world reveals an unavoidable complexity when it appears that the truth is no longer just one truth—that it is no longer simple and direct but caught up in contradiction, when what is 'wrong' leaves its place of exile to blend with what is 'right', blurring the boundaries that had held them apart, and when what seemed to make up the whole of reality is recognized, painfully, to be part of it. We need only suspect that each object has its own version of the truth to set against another . . . [Virgil] had only to refuse the fixity of its [the epic norm's] vision and its language and to admit a structure of multiple relations, *relative* points of view, and varying perspectives. The text became polycentric.[68]

These relative points of view, what R. O. A. M. Lyne has called the 'further voices' in the poem,[69] challenge the dominant univocal reading that stresses the virtues of Aeneas: from his perspective, leaving Carthage represents a sacrifice of personal desire to higher collective duty, but from Dido's position it is an act of cowardice and betrayal, and in this reading her voice demands to be heard as well.

In this second approach, everything depends on the ending, where Turnus's final plea for mercy is denied and he is killed by a triumphant Aeneas. Aeneas is clearly angry at the moment when he decides to kill Turnus. In the traditional reading this anger is justified by the evil

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[68] Gian Biagio Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*, ed. Charles Segal, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 44 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 153.

[69] R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 4–56, 145–206. A similar technique is what Don Fowler calls 'deviant focalization', in which the text shows the speaker seeing the world through the eyes of others as well as his or her own; see 'Deviant Focalization in Vergil's *Aeneid*', in *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 40–63, reprinted from *Papers of the Cambridge Philological Society* 216 (1990): 42–63. This approach developed indirectly from Otis, *Virgil*, chapter 3, 'The Subjective Style', pp. 41–96, although it is not without its critics; see Antonio La Penna,'Sul cosidetto stile soggettivo e sul cosidetto simbolismo di Virgilio', *Dialoghi di archeologia* 1 (1967): 220–44.

Turnus has done and by the need to remove him as the major impediment to the establishment of Rome. As Michael C. J. Putnam reminds us, however, Aeneas had been told by his father to spare the proud once they have been reduced to suppliants (*Aen.* 6.851–3), something that he repeatedly failed to do. At the crucial moment he is dominated by his 'furor' ('rage'), an emotion that has stood against everything Aeneas has been working for throughout the poem; here, and elsewhere, 'furor' identifies Aeneas with Achilles, but at the end of the *Aeneid* his actions are worse even than those of his Greek model, who showed pity to Hector's father at the end of the poem Virgil was imitating. As Putnam puts it:

> we have come a far cry from the selfless, long-suffering Aeneas of books 1–4, bearing his father on his shoulders away from the flames of Troy, withstanding the turmoil stirred by Juno's insatiable enmity, and putting the destiny of Rome ahead of his personal feeling in his abandonment of Dido. As the sufferer metamorphoses into the inflictor of suffering, Virgil has Aeneas shunt aside the new ethical framework proposed by his father for the behavior of a virtuous hero toward his foe, a framework that would distinguish the *Aeneid* from its great Homeric model. Instead of having his hero serve as a humane example for Rome of the self-control and moderation in victory that Anchises' words project, of a collective responsibility to an ethic of forbearance, Virgil leaves him a prey to individualistic emotionality, which ignites an Achillean anger insistent on the need for retribution.[70]

This Aeneas is not one who consistently represents praiseworthy virtue, and Virgil's final words do not look towards the glorious future to come, but to a very human hero who is no more able than anyone else to live up to the ideals he has for himself.

As one might expect, this reading also challenges the idea that the *Aeneid* posits an imperial identity that could be appropriated by later authors. The imperial reading depends on associating Augustus with Aeneas, but as Putnam points out, both used violence and injustice to achieve their ends, so that in this interpretation the *Aeneid* cannot be reduced to a univocal panegyric of either.[71] It is possible from this perspective to read the poem as a warning to Augustus—see how Aeneas behaved and be careful to handle your next crisis better than he did—but it is also possible to carry this line of argument one step further, as J. D. Reed does. Reed returns to the 'changing perspectives' in the poem as Conte noted them and deduces from them the consequences: because the perspective is not consistently Aeneas's, any effort to define Roman identity 'is always provisional and perspectival', so that 'there is no essence, no absolute center, no origin that exclusively authorizes Romanness'.[72] If there is a hole at the centre of Rome and its values, then Virgil does not offer anything to imitate for the rulers who sought to define themselves as the heirs of Augustus and the empire he established.

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[70] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes,* p. 106. Putnam has written often and elegantly on the problems posed by the ending of the *Aeneid*, going back to *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), chapter 4, 'Book XII: Tragic Victory'.

[71] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, p. 15.

This second approach, which has gained a good many adherents primarily in the Anglophone world, is generally thought to have originated some fifty years ago, but in fact its roots go back centuries. More than 1,700 years earlier, for example, Lactantius (*c.*240–*c.*320) argued that anyone who gave in to anger and slaughtered a suppliant could not be considered 'pius' ('pious'), as Aeneas was said to have been. In his *De otio religioso*, Francesco Petrarca (1304–74) saw Aeneas not as the paragon of perfection, but as a treasonous worshipper of false gods, and in *Seniles* 4.5 Aeneas is said to have been temporarily deflected from the path of righteousness in his affair with Dido. Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) condemns Aeneas for failing to control his anger in two places, directly in his *De morali disciplina* and indirectly in the *Sphortias*, an epic poem written in imitation of the *Aeneid*. In criticizing Aeneas, these comments move away from Donatus's presentation of the perfectly praiseworthy hero, but we also find observations that show Renaissance readers acknowledging the varying perspectives that Conte saw in the *Aeneid*. In *De fortitudine*, for example, Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503) praises Mezentius for choosing an honourable death over a base life and cites his speech in *Aen*. 10.862–6 as being worthy of a brave man; later Turnus is praised for preserving courage by controlling his anger. Pier Candido Decembrio (1399–1477), in turn, began a supplement to the *Aeneid* that is written from the perspective of Turnus, who is described as 'magnanimus' ('noble in spirit'), an epithet that Virgil generally applied to Aeneas, and as a sort of national hero who is praiseworthy in his own right. The crucial last step was taken by Joseph C. Sitterson, Jr, who argues that the ending of the *Orlando furioso* of Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533) serves as an imitation of the *Aeneid* that reflects the full range of mixed feelings about human nature and its political institutions that are found in its source text.[73] The key points, though, had been picked up earlier, so that John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), for example, cites the *Aeneid* as an example of how pagan philosophical systems that make revenge a virtue are inferior to Christianity,[74] while Matthew Arnold (1822–88) found 'an ineffable melancholy' and 'a sweet, touching sadness' in the *Aeneid*. Key elements in this position can also be found in scholarship from the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s by E. Adelaide Hahn (1893–1967), C. M. Bowra (1898–1971), and W. F. Jackson Knight (1895–1964).[75]

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[72] J. D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 2.

One would hope that this second approach would be reinforced by turning to the paratexts that have accompanied Virgil's poetry in its various physical manifestations, and this is indeed the case. The ending of the *Aeneid*, for example, is analysed in strikingly modern terms by the commentary of La Cerda, which was first published at the beginning of the seventeenth century (LE1608.1, LG1608.1, LA1613.1) and remained in print for a hundred years. La Cerda analyses the final scene from an Aristotelian perspective, as if it were a Greek tragedy. What is striking here is his treatment of Turnus, who is no longer the leader of the 'malorum exercitus' ('army of evil men'),[76] the representative of carnal passion, as he was for Petrarca, but a hero whose virtues, like those of Aeneas, require superlatives: he is ‘nobilissimus’, ‘fortissimus’, ‘generosissimus’, ‘pulcherrimus’ (‘most noble, most brave, most generous, most handsome’), one who is ‘magna aggrediens, & maiora moliens’ (‘embarking on great things and labouring for even greater ones’). That is, he is clearly better rather than worse in moral terms, but not perfect, since he must ‘luat tamen poenas temeritatis suae, rivalitatis, intercepti Regni, fracti foederis’ (‘nevertheless pay the price for his rashness and his jealousy, for standing in the way of Aeneas and for breaking his oath’). His death is the price he pays for his *hamartia* (mistake). Pity and fear are thus aroused, since Turnus is the kind of person with whom the reader can identify, but he still seems to suffer more than he deserves: ‘permoveat qui legit, horreatque ad atrocem caedem, et indignam tanto Principe fortunam’ (‘the reader should be moved and shrink from such an atrocious slaughter, and a fortune unworthy of such a great prince’). Particularly interesting is the way La Cerda grounds the tragedy of Turnus in a comparison with Aeneas. With an eye on the *Iliad*, La Cerda notes that epic often rests on the actions of two heroes rather than one, and that the epic poet must therefore be careful not to inflict disaster on the morally superior character, since this is offensive. Virgil is exemplary in this, since Aeneas possesses all the virtues Turnus has, along with ‘pietas’, ‘religio’, ‘prudentia’, ‘temperantia’, ‘iustitia’, ‘fides’, and ‘virtutes reliquae, quae sparsae in tota Aeneide’ (‘piety, religion, prudence, temperance, justice, faithfulness, and the remaining virtues which are scattered throughout the *Aeneid*’). Therefore justice is preserved at the same time as the emotions of pity and fear are aroused, ‘ut interfectus Turnus animos commoveat, ut non tamen dignior iudicetur interfectore Aenea’ (‘so that after he has been killed, Turnus moves our spirits, but in such a way that he is not judged more worthy than Aeneas, his killer’). The better man wins, but over a worthy opponent who is like him in many ways, not over a thorough scoundrel like Mezentius. In La Cerda’s interpretation, the *Aeneid* ends not with the righteous triumph of a morally perfect hero, but with the tragic loss of an opponent who is noble, courageous, and exemplary in many key areas. La Cerda acknowledges the emotional

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[73] This material has been discussed at length in my *The Other Virgil: Pessimistic Readings of the Aeneid in Early Modern Culture*, Classical Presences (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 30–50, where several other examples and additional bibliography may be found.

[74] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, pp. 123–6.

[75] E. Adelaide Hahn, 'Vergil and the "Under-Dog"', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 56 (1925): 185–212; C. M. Bowra, 'Aeneas and the Stoic Ideal', *Greece and Rome* 3 (1933): 8–21, reprinted in S. J. Harrison, ed., *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 363–77; and W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil* (London: Faber and Faber, 1944), 299–328.

[76] The ending to La Cerda's commentary on the *Aeneid* has been treated at length in my 'Epic and Tragedy', pp. 579–94, which contains further bibliographic entries. Laird, 'Juan Luis de la Cerda', pp. 171–203, and Sergio Casali, '*Agudezas* virgiliane nel commento all'*Eneide* di Juan Luis de la Cerda', in *Esegesi dimenticate di autori classici*, edited by Carlo Santini and Fabio Stok, Testi e studi di cultura classica, 41 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2008), pp. 233–61 are essential, with a treatment of the antiquarian orientation of the commentary in Maarten Jansen's 2015 University of Leiden dissertation. References to La Cerda's commentary, which will be placed in the text, are to the edition published in Cologne by Johann Kinckius between 1642 and 1647

(LW1642–1647.1), accessible through the website of Joseph Farrell (University of Pennsylvania) at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~jfarrell/index.html> (accessed 11 April 2014).

power of the last scene—commentary is a notoriously impersonal genre, but the writer challenges its conventions here with his 'doleo' ('I grieve'), a confession of what he feels in the face of these lines. And the identification of desirable traits in Turnus, the argument that he, too, has a character that is better rather than worse, problematizes the ending of the poem in a way that highlights just how impoverished the conventional black-and-white interpretation can become. La Cerda is working from within an Aristotelian framework that is not picked up by later scholars, but the capacity to see the action from the perspective of someone other than Aeneas is precisely what Conte was talking about in his discussion of relative points of view, and many of the key elements of Putnam's analysis of the ending are found here as well.

This perspective is developed further in notes to the text by Thomas Cooke (1703–56). Cooke's commentary was initially published in 1741 (LW1741.1) and reprinted only once (LW1742.1), which suggests the power of the status quo to restrict the physical circulation of potentially subversive material. At several points Cooke criticizes Aeneas. The first of these points comes in his remarks on *Aen.* 3.10, where Aeneas's tears as he sets out on his journey lead to this scholarly outburst: 'Our hero is wimpering and sighing so often that our compassion is worn out for him: I really believe, if *Virgil* had lived to have corrected his *Aeneis* more than he did, he would have wiped away some of *Aeneas*'s tears.'[77] Aeneas's behaviour in *Aen.* 4.318 is also roundly criticized: 'Unhappy Dido uses sufficient arguments in this speech for the exercise of her hero's humanity, if his love is fled: he ought, from the consideration of the dangers which surrounded her, to have made her more the object of his care than he did.' Later in that same book (*Aen.* 4.569) Aeneas is criticized for his affair with Dido: 'It is certainly very unbecoming a hero to be retarded from any great point in view by the indulgence of any sensual pleasure.' This criticism is accompanied by consistent praise for Turnus. At *Aen.* 10.825 we get the first of these comments: 'Turnus appears in the unexceptionable character of an intrepid gallant soldier . . . he is not a savage fighter void of reflection, but appears in the true dignity of a hero.' This is not an isolated observation, with Turnus being praised at *Aen.* 10.261 for appearing 'with an air of heroic gallantry, not only void of fear, but pleased with the opportunity of entering into action and acquiring glory'. When Juno removes him from the battlefield against his will (*Aen*. 10.664), '*Turnus*'s soliloquy, when *Juno* is vanished, is a noble, elegant, and spirited speech, and almost makes amends for the preceding fault of the poet'. As we move to the end of the poem, however, Aeneas recovers much of his grandeur as well. He acts nobly in killing Lausus, he grieves well at the loss of Pallas, and as he moves towards his final battle, 'the majesty of Aeneas could not possibly be better expressed than by so exalted a resemblance as to the elevation of these hills' (*Aen*. 12.701ff.). Any sense of balance disappears, however, in Cooke's comments on the final scene of the poem (*Aen*. 12.952), which are important enough to merit quotation at some length:

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[77] References to the 1741 edition will be placed in the text.

> We have been thro' a poem that is one of the noblest monuments of the genius of the antients: it is a diamond, but not without flaws . . . *Aeneas* asserted his claim to the *Italian* dominions as promised him by the gods, and fixed by fate: *Turnus* disputed his title very justly, for the other is a claim that any man might make. *Turnus* was guilty of no disobedience to the divine will; for unless *Jupiter*, or some other good-natured god, had acquainted *Turnus* with the will of heaven in regard to *Aeneas*, how could *Turnus* distinguish *Aeneas* from any other invader? *Aeneas*'s conviction of his mandate from heaven was no conviction to *Turnus* . . . They who read the *Aeneis* with taste and reason send their wishes along with *Turnus*, because he was right in his opposition, and because *Aeneas*'s title from heaven was not half so good as *Turnus*'s right of inheritance from his father *Daunus*.

This is a remarkable passage. Most revisionist critics of the early twenty-first century stress what is lost as well as what is gained in the course of the poem, recognizing what Aeneas has achieved at some level while commenting simultaneously on his failures and shortcomings. Cooke goes even farther than this, declaring Turnus to be morally superior to Aeneas at the end of the poem, which could only happen when a commentator develops the potential to leave behind the perspective of the protagonist to adopt the worldview of his opponent.

While these are not the only early printed editions relevant to this discussion, there is no question that the material evidence lines up overwhelmingly in favour of the traditional interpretation, the one stressing Virgil's praise of Aeneas and Augustus. It is also important to note that the two interpretations are better viewed as poles on a continuum than as an absolute binary, since responsible critics representing both positions regularly acknowledge elements from the other perspective. As noted earlier in this section, Nicholas Horsfall, for example, states clearly that ‘Aeneas remains right, as he always was’, which makes him what he calls a ‘cheery pragmatist’ but is usually labelled an ‘optimist’ in Virgilian criticism. Yet Horsfall also insists that the text of *Aeneid* 12 refuses to be flattened into simple solutions to complex questions, concluding that ‘it would be mere intellectual hebetude or idle perversity to deny this voice’s [the private voice of regret] existence and no attempt will be made to question Virgil’s doubts about glory, strength of feelings for victims and vanquished, repeated expressions of criticism at the expense of heroes and victors, and the like’.[78] Similarly Karl Galinsky, who has argued with great skill that Aeneas acts correctly at the end of the poem, also notes that ‘Vergil continually emphasizes the cost of the Roman effort. Few other heroic epics show so consistently the grief of the non-combatants and the pathos of the premature death of the young.’[79] Conversely Putnam, who is perhaps the most eloquent of the revisionist critics, often referred to as ‘pessimists’, takes ‘for granted the Augustan aspects of the poem’ but argues that it is ‘upon the common propensity of the heroes for savage retaliation when they have been deeply aggrieved that each poet [Virgil and Homer] would have us center our attention’.[80] The last phrase is useful: each side recognizes much of what the other side sees, but what matters is where the critics centre their attention.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, then, we see that efforts to stabilize the interpretation of Virgil’s poetry within the so-called ‘optimistic’ perspective have not succeeded. From Servius’s time on, this has been the dominant approach, particularly during the era of the printed book, when everything from prefaces and dedications to ownership notes and bindings served to anchor Virgil’s poetry into the world of the rich and powerful who envisioned themselves as the successors to Aeneas and Augustus. Yet at the end of the twentieth century, the reading of the poem that stressed its subversive capacities, its capacity to question elite values and institutions, moved from the margins to the cultural centre, challenging the hermeneutical stability that print culture had sought to enforce. This interpretive instability parallels the one in Virgilian textual criticism, such that it would seem worthwhile to speculate about what the common denominators here might be.[81]

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[78] Horsfall, *A Companion*, pp. 216, 193.

[79] Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 247. See also Galinsky’s important article on the end of the *Aeneid*, ‘The Anger of Aeneas’, *American Journal of Philology* 109 (1988): 330–5.

[80] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, p. 14.

1.4. THE PARADOX OF THE PHYSICAL

Initially it would seem that materializing something would stabilize it. When a sculptor has an idea for a statue, for example, the idea can evolve into an almost infinite number of possible forms as long as it stays an idea, but when it takes form in marble, the form is then fixed. If I want to remodel my kitchen, an interior designer can present a series of plans, any one of which remains potentially viable until I choose one; at that point the work begins and the options disappear rapidly until the job is done, at which point I either enjoy my new kitchen or wipe out my investment and start over again. A car lover can imagine what next year's Mustang will look like until the new model arrives in the showroom, at which point it is what it is.

As we have seen, however, focusing on the material aspects of Virgil's poetry has neither stabilized the text nor produced an authoritative interpretation of it. The principles of textual criticism have dictated that the texts that are carried in the manuscripts, early printed editions, and computer files containing Virgil's works should be able to be sorted into groups that will lead back to the text that Virgil wrote, but after more than two thousand years that original text remains elusive. This poetry has been woven into the cultural fabric of Western civilization at its most basic levels since it first appeared, but the paratextual material that accompanies the poetry—the prefaces, commentaries, and illustrations that attempt to fix its meaning—have not succeeded in recovering what Virgil intended. Virgil's poetry has only survived thanks to manuscripts, printed books, and computer files, but none of those forms has produced textual or hermeneutic closure.

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[81] It is worth noting that the two narratives, those of textual criticism and interpretation, are interrelated. *Aen.* 2.567–88, for example, is considered questionable on textual grounds because these lines are not found in many of the earliest manuscripts. An ancient scholiast notes that Virgil's literary executors deleted them because in these lines Aeneas is so angry at Helen for all the destruction she has caused that he considers killing her; giving in to one's emotions and killing a woman, the scholiast notes, is unseemly. This is a case where interpretation of the poem drives the creation of the text. As Putnam points out, the majority of early readers were 'optimists' whose reading of the poem is reinforced by the removal of the passage. From a pessimistic perspective, however, this is simply one of several examples where Aeneas kills, or considers killing, a suppliant, which would make its inclusion in the poem reasonable. See Putnam, *The Humanness*, pp. 62–5; Venier, *Per una storia*, pp. 10–11; and Thomas Berres, *Vergil und die Helenaszene, mit einem Exkurs zu den Halbversen* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1992).

The chapters that follow explore how and why this is so. Medieval manuscripts, for example, drew Virgil into the ambience of the church, which ran the schools in which his poetry was taught and supervised the reproduction and preservation of many copies of the text. For his medieval readers, Virgil foreshadowed and confirmed the fundamental, immutable truths of Christianity, but the texts they produced became increasingly corrupt and their religious readings are no longer accepted. In the era of the printed book, Virgil retained his dominant position in the schools, but he was read there primarily as a source for moral aphorisms and elegant phrasing that students could use in their own compositions. This way of reading prevailed in its own day but then died out, while the efforts of humanist scholars to produce a purified text did not produce lasting results either. The illustrations found in the printed texts of the last 500 years are graphic proof of how unstable the Virgilian environment is, for as one period in art history gives way to another, the same poems are re-envisioned in ever-changing ways. As one might expect, the computer world simply accelerates this trend, producing texts that can be changed with a keystroke and new interpretations that can 'go viral' in minutes. The materialized Virgil, in other words, is Protean indeed.

2

Manuscripts

2.1. FROM ROLL TO CODEX

As we begin our survey of the various material forms in which Virgil's poetry was produced and disseminated, we are confronted immediately by one of those ironies with which cultural history abounds. On the one hand, we know a good deal about how books were made in Virgil's lifetime. The ancient biographies tell us that Virgil worked very slowly, writing and rewriting at the rate of about ten lines per day.[1] Texts that had to be edited extensively were generally written on wax tablets until they could be rendered in their final form, so it is reasonable to imagine that Virgil's verses may well have been born in a series of inexpensive notebooks that were more often used for grocery lists and basic accounting. The standard format for works of literature in ancient Rome, however, was the papyrus roll, so that blocks of text in more or less final form were systematically transferred to rolls. All of the *Eclogues* would fit on one roll, but for the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, a roll could hold only one book. This is also about the amount of text that would be appropriate for a recitation, so when we imagine Virgil reading a section of his work in progress for Augustus, we should envision him unrolling a papyrus scroll from start to finish. When the work was ready for publication, the roll was reproduced, at the behest of either the author or the reader, and then passed along, sometimes via a publisher or bookseller, but at other times in a personal transaction between writer and reader.[2] Virgil's poetry became a school text almost immediately,[3] so we know this process was repeated countless times in imperial Rome.

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[1] For the ancient lives of Virgil, see G. Brugnoli and F. Stok, eds, *Vitae antiquae Virgilianae* (Rome: Typis officinae polygraphicae, 1997); and Fabio Stok, 'The Life of Vergil before Donatus', in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, edited by Joseph Farrell and Michael C. J. Putnam, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 107–20.

The irony here is that, while there must have been thousands of papyrus rolls containing Virgil's works that were produced in the generations immediately after his death, not one of them has come down to us complete, or even in a substantial fragment. Smaller fragments do exist, and I will have something to say about them later in section 2.3. We do not, however, have a critical mass of evidence here, as we do with Virgilian manuscripts, printed books, and computer files, and it is simply not possible to say much about the relationship between form and content when most of the relevant evidence does not survive.

Rolls continued to be used for centuries for certain kinds of texts (e.g. administrative records), but in late antiquity the codex replaced the roll and parchment replaced papyrus as writing material. The second change is easily explained in relation to the first: papyrus rolls and unrolls well, but it tends to crack and break when folded into a form that resembles the modern book, making a papyrus codex too unstable for repeated use. The first change is more difficult to explain. With the benefit of historical hindsight, it is easy to see the advantages of the codex: economy (papyrus in rolls generally had writing on only one side, while both sides of the parchment in codices could contain writing), ease of reference (it is faster to locate a particular passage by turning pages in a book than by unrolling an entire scroll), and convenience (turning pages takes less work than unrolling). We must be careful here, however, not to project backwards our own preferences—there is no evidence, for example, that people who grew up unrolling scrolls found the process particularly burdensome.

Those who have studied the change from roll to codex invariably stress one interesting fact, that the change is connected to the rise of Christianity. Books in codex form were known to the Romans: the

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[2] Horst Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (Munich: Beck, 1992); W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); and Craig Kallendorf, 'The Ancient Book', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, edited by Michael F. Suarez, S. J. and H. R. Woudhuysen, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1:29–31 with bibliography on 1:33–4.

[3] H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb, 2nd edn. Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956, originally published in French in 1948), *passim*.

locus classicus here is a reference by Martial to small codices containing poetry that made especially nice gifts. But the codex format was rare among first-century AD Romans; indeed Martial discusses it in part because it is a novelty. The Christians, however, adopted it immediately and decisively. Roberts and Skeat show that of the 172 Biblical manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts written before the early fifth century, only two could be described as normal rolls of Christian origin. For non-Christian books the change came incrementally, with the turning point being *c.*300 AD, when the codex attained parity with the roll. After that the trend accelerated, so that by the sixth century the codex had completely taken over as the format in which literary works, both pagan and Christian, were disseminated. The simple conclusion here is that the change from roll to codex is a symbol of the triumph of Christianity, in which the new culture succeeded in imposing its bookish norms on those of the declining Roman empire.[4] This may well be true as far as it goes, but it begs the question of why the decisive moment came at the beginning of the fourth century. William Harris offers an ingenious explanation, tied to the decline of literacy at that point. Before the beginning of the fourth century, well-educated pagans knew many classical authors well, by memory, but around this time more and more readers were Christians who knew fewer authors, and knew them less well. For them the ability to find passages became crucial. Their Bibles were set up in codex form to facilitate searching for references, so it would make sense, Harris argues, to reformat their classical texts with a similar goal in mind.[5]

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[4] Colin Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1983), pp. 35–7, 45–61, and 67–74. Martial 1.2 reads 'Qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos / Et comites longae quaeris habere viae, / Hos eme, quos aptat brevibus membrana tabellis' ('You who want my little books to be with you everywhere and who seek to have companions for a long journey—buy these, which membrane fits to small writing tablets').

[5] William Harris, 'Why Did the Codex Supplant the Book Roll?' in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr*, edited by John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto (New York: Italica Press, 1991), pp. 81–5. Harris notes that there are two third-century papyri that contain a Biblical text on one side and a classical author on the other (P. Oxy. IV.657 and 668, Hebrews and an epitome of Livy, and P. Lond. Lit. no. 207, Psalms and Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*), which suggests that in these two cases at least, the barrier between Christian and pagan was permeable.

Be that as it may, when the codex began supplanting the roll for classical authors, a decision had to be made as to what merited copying. Not everything did: only eleven of Aristophanes' forty-four comedies were recopied and therefore survived, while Menander, a popular comic playwright in late antiquity, was not systematically transferred.[6] Here another interesting fact emerges, that of the earliest substantial group of manuscripts containing classical authors, some twenty codices written in rustic capitals, five contain the works of Virgil. This is more than any other author, and it is worth noting that while only a few leaves of many of the other books survive as the bottom text in a *palimpsest* (that is, as a page that has been erased with another text written over it), very substantial sections of Virgil's works survive in each of these five codices. If we add to this group two more early manuscripts of similar origins written in square capitals, it is clear that at the time when the Christian codex was replacing the Roman scroll as the preferred vehicle for a classical text, Virgil's works retained a striking popularity.

Thirty years ago Thomas Stevenson drew what seems to be the obvious conclusion here, that Christian readers of this transitional period must have found Virgil's works to be more congenial to their values than, say, the pederasty of Petronius's *Satyricon* or the atheism of Lucretius's *De rerum natura*.[7] It is not hard to see why he came to this conclusion, for an Aeneas who strives to attain the values associated with *pietas* could very easily be modified into a Christian Everyman. Rather than develop this argument as a point of literary criticism, however, I would like to stay with the physical evidence to show how the earliest Virgilian manuscripts link this poetry to the Christian culture of the dawning Middle Ages.

Two of the very early Virgilian manuscripts, the Codex Romanus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3867) and the Codex Vaticanus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3225), are illustrated—indeed, with the so-called Ambrosian *Iliad*, they are the oldest surviving illustrated manuscripts of any classical text. While a range of dates has been proposed for the Codex Romanus, the general consensus is that whoever commissioned it was probably a Christian. There is, however, considerable debate about the Codex Vaticanus. David Wright, who favours an early date for the manuscript, has argued that no Christian would have ordered a book that contains so many scenes of pagan sacrifice; he feels that it must have come from a circle of artists who were trying to maintain tradition in a 'flourishing of revived classical culture in Rome in the era around 400'.[8] This argument has been treated harshly by Alan Cameron, who notes that belief in a pagan revival during this period has been widely discredited and that the scenes of pagan sacrifice in the manuscript do not prove what Wright claims they do, since the purchaser would not have specified which passages were to be illustrated. At any rate, the Codex Romanus also contains similar scenes which do not seem to have bothered its early Christian owner.[9] Indeed, Wright himself acknowledges that the earliest illustrated classical manuscripts are actually a subgroup within a larger corpus that contains the earliest illustrated manuscripts, and that the other subgroup in this corpus contains Bibles.[10] It seems logical, then, to explore further the connection between the two subgroups.

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[6] Blanck, *Das Buch*, pp. 95–7.

[7] Thomas B. Stevenson, *Miniature Decoration in the Vatican Virgil: A Study in Late Antique Iconography* (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmith, 1983), p. 11. In addition to the two codices discussed in the next paragraph, the manuscripts in question are Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. Lat. 1631 (the Codex Palatinus); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 39.1 (the Codex Mediceus); and Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 40.51.

Kurt Weitzmann, a leading authority on early illuminated manuscripts, has compared two early illustrated Virgils to Bibles from the same period. The illustrations in the Codex Vaticanus are comparable on stylistic grounds to those in the Quedlinburg Itala, a manuscript containing the part of the Old Testament that recounts the deeds of Samuel. The figures show the same elegant style, with occasional gold striations, and the pale pink and light blue sky in the scenes illustrating I Samuel 15.13–33 recalls the one in the picture of *Georgics* 3.209ff. Weitzmann suggests that both artists may have worked in the same scriptorium in Rome at the beginning of the fifth century. The portraits of the evangelists in the early Bible manuscripts, in turn, took the classical poets and philosophers as models: Virgil in the Codex Romanus, for example, resembles Matthew and John in the Rabbula Gospels (586 AD). As Weitzmann notes, early Christian book illumination made from the beginning a strong effort to absorb the classical tradition, in terms of technique, style, compositional schemes, and predilection towards narrative pictorial cycles.[11]

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[8] David Wright, *The Vatican Vergil: A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 101–2. For references to earlier bibliography, see Erwin Rosenthal, *The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3867): A Stylistic and Iconographical Analysis* (Dietikon and Zurich: Urs Graf-Verlag, 1972), and two other books of Wright's, *Vergilius Vaticanus: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe in Originalformat des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3225 der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Commentarium*, Codices selecti phototypice impressi, 71, Codices e Vaticanis selecti, 40 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1984), and *The Roman Vergil and the Origins of Medieval Book Design* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). Florentine Mütherich, 'Die illustrierten Vergil-Handschriften der Spätantike', *Würzburger Jahrbuch für Altertumswissenschaft* NF 8 (1982): 266–93 follows Wright in seeing the Codex Vaticanus as a last representative of the dying pagan culture.

[9] Alan Cameron, 'Vergil Illustrated between Pagans and Christians', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004): 502–25, in essence an extended review of Wright's *The Vatican Vergil* and *The Roman Vergil*. See also Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), esp. chapter 16, 'Pagan Scholarship: Virgil and His Commentators', pp. 567–626.

[10] Wright, *The Vatican Vergil*, p. 1.

There are more manuscripts of Virgil than for any other classical author, but surprisingly few of them are illustrated. Yet within this group, the illustrations continue to bind Virgil to Christian culture throughout the manuscript era. The Vatican Virgil was in Tours during the Carolingian age, at which time two figures from it, Aeneas and Achates approaching the Sibyl, were recast as two Jews listening to St Paul in the synagogue in the great illustrated Bible commissioned by Count Vivian, probably finished in 846.[12] At this point, a curious inversion occurred. Religious books continued to refer to Virgil: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, ms. Helmst. 568, a twelfth-century Psalter, places Virgil into a genealogical drawing of the tree of Jesse, while Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 2761 (thirteenth century) depicts Virgil seated at a desk in the guise of a young monk.[13] By this time the illustrators of Virgil were turning to Biblical manuscripts for inspiration more often than Biblical illuminators went to Virgil for models. In Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 7936 (*c.*1200, northern France), for example, the

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[11] Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York: George Braziller, 1977), pp. 11, 13–15, and 20–3. I have not been able to get access to H. Degering and A. Böckler, *Die Quedlinburg Italafragmente* (Berlin: Gedruckt für die Mitglieder der Cassiodor-Gesellschaft, 1932), where the relationship between the Quedlinburg Itala and the Codex Vaticanus is supposed to be discussed on pp. 109–10 and 182–93.

[12] Wright, *The Vatican Vergil*, p. 106.

[13] Antonio Cadei, 'Tradizione manoscritte illustrate', in Francesco della Corte, gen. ed., *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, 5 vols (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1984–91), 3: 443–50.

Palinurus at the beginning of *Aeneid* 6 was probably taken from a picture of Jonah in the sea, and the assembly of the gods in *Aeneid* 10 was drawn from a depiction of Pentecost.[14] The vast majority of the surviving illustrated manuscripts of the *Aeneid* date from the fifteenth century, where we find a German manuscript that places the funeral of Caieta in a cemetery with crosses, a Neapolitan one that presents Misenus dressed as a Christian priest, and a number of books in which Dido resembles a Madonna with angels.[15]

Thus from the earliest late-antique exemplars to the latest fifteenth-century ones, the illuminated manuscripts of Virgil place his poetry within the visual world of Christianity. The codex form in which all these manuscripts are found reinforces the same association, one that is pronounced for the works of Virgil to a greater degree than for any other classical author. In other words, if we want to understand the reception of Virgil's poetry during the long Middle Ages, the material evidence encourages us to explore the complexities of its relationship to Christianity.

2.2. THE BAPTISM OF VIRGIL?

The move to associate Virgil's poetry with Christianity has implications for the issues being explored in this book. Large generalizations are always dangerous, but on the most fundamental level Christianity asserts that its truths are stable and universally valid, and these claims were accepted by the vast majority of people in medieval Europe. If

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[14] François Avril, 'Un manuscrit d'auteurs classiques et ses illustrations', in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 261–82, proposes the general principle articulated in this paragraph, that Biblical illustrations based on Virgilian pictures gave way to illuminated Virgilian manuscripts based on Biblical iconography (p. 265), but here, as with most generalizations in the humanities, there are exceptions. To the two other illuminated Virgilian manuscripts that were made between the Romanus and Vaticanus and the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century examples (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vienna 58, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3251), Pierre and Jeanne Courcelle, *Lecteurs païëns et lecteurs chrêtiens de l'Énéide*, pt. 2: *Les manuscrits illustrés de l'Énéide du X*^{e} *au XV*^{e} *siècle*, Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, nouvelle série, 4 (Paris: Institut de France, 1984), pp. 7–8 add two more: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, lat. 6 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7936.

[15] Courcelle, *Lecteurs païëns et lecteurs chrêtiens de l'Énéide*, 2: 265.

Virgil's poetry was seen by medieval readers as compatible in some fundamental way with these truths, as the material evidence seems to be suggesting, this would provide an authoritative interpretation of the text. Since Virgil died before Christianity was established, medieval readers either claimed that a Christianized reading was the true one even though Virgil had not intended it, or that he had somehow obtained a partial understanding of what was to come. Once these obstacles were overcome, one could seek to preserve the words that were compatible with revealed truth, copying them into a new manuscript in an act of devotion that has both a spiritual and a physical element.

The extent to which Virgil's poetry was considered compatible with Christianity during the manuscript era, however, is a complicated question. To begin to answer it, we must turn to *Eclogue* 4 and the Messianic interpretation associated with the poem during much of this period. The poem in part reads as follows:

> ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas:
> magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.
> iam redit & Virgo: redeunt Saturnia regna:
> iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
> tu modo nascendi [sic] puero quo ferrea primum
> desinet & toto surget gens aurea mundo
> casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo
>
> Te duce si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri
> irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.
>
> ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
> hubera nec magnos metuent armenta leones.
> ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.
> occidet & serpens: et fallax herba veneni.
> Occidet: Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.
>
> (Now hath the last age come, foretold by the Sibyl of Cumae;
> Mightily now upriseth a new millennial epoch.
> Justice the Maid comes back, and the ancient glory of Saturn;
> Now is the seed of man sent down from heavenly places.
> Smile on the new-born Babe, for a new earth greets his appearing;
> Smile, O pure Lucina; the iron age is departing,
> Cometh the age of gold; now reigns thy patron Apollo.
>
> Should some lingering traces of old-world wickedness haunt us,
> They shall perish, and fear from the earth be banished for ever.

> Home shall the goats their udders bring with milk heavy-laden,
> Willingly, nor great lions affright men's cattle hereafter.
> Even thy cradle, O Babe, shall pour forth flow'rs to caress thee,
> Snakes shall perish, and plants whose fruit is treacherous poison;
> All the earth shall be sweet with the breath of Assyrian spikenard.)
> (ll. 4–10, 13–14, 21–5)[16]

The poem is enigmatic, but it undoubtedly responds to a broad yearning for a golden age that was current in first-century BC Greco-Roman culture. The initial assumption was that the child in line 4 was Roman, but the Jewish hopes for a Messiah were compatible with sentiments expressed here, and there is a possibility that Virgil may have had some contact with Jewish culture, either through his association with Pollio or by reading one or more Jewish versions of the Sibylline oracles. A number of modern scholars, most notably Eduard Norden, have offered sensitive readings of the poem that bring out its affinities with Jewish culture of the inter-testamental period, but Virgil is unlikely to have had direct knowledge of the book of Isaiah, as is sometimes claimed.[17] As a supporter of Augustus's religious reforms, he was not in general attracted to the emotionalism of Oriental cults.

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[16] The Latin text is from *Vergilius cum quinque commentis* (Venice: Filippo Pinzi, 1491–1492), which is LW1491–1492.1 in my *Bibliography of the Early Printed Editions of Virgil, 1469–1850*, p. 4. The English translation is from Thomas Fletcher Royds, *Virgil and Isaiah: A Study of the Pollio, with Translation, Notes, and Appendices* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1918), with the translation on pp. 74–85. A good close reading of *Eclogue* 4 may be found in John Van Sickle, *A Reading of Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (New York: Garland, 1992), esp. pp. 117–41.

[17] Eduard Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1924; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1958) has been influential in developing the connections between *Eclogue* 4 and contemporary Jewish culture. Other essential works that touch on this aspect of the poem are Robert Seymour Conway, 'The Messianic Idea in Virgil', in Joseph B. Mayor, Robert Seymour Conway, and W. Warde Fowler, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (London: J. Murray, 1907), pp. 11–48; Joseph B. Mayor, 'Sources of the Fourth Eclogue', in Mayor, Conway, and Fowler, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, pp. 87–138; J. Carcopino, *Virgile et le mystère de la IV^{e} Eclogue* (Paris: L'artisan du livre, 1930); and R. G. M. Nisbet, 'Virgil's Fourth Eclogue: Easterners and Westerners', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 25/1 (1978): 59–78. A recent article on the subject, Nicholas Horsfall, 'Virgil and the Jews', *Vergilius* 58 (2012): 67–80, concludes that 'it seems overwhelmingly likely, if not completely certain, that there is indeed substantial Jewish influence on Bucolic 4' (p. 68). S. Benko, 'Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue* in Christian Interpretation', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 2/31.1 (1980): 646–705, a masterful survey of the subject, makes the intriguing suggestion that contact may have gone the other way as well, that the shepherd motif was Greco-Roman and probably entered Luke's gospel from a pagan source, perhaps even *Eclogue* 4.

None of the surviving evidence suggests that the poem was given a specifically Christian reading until some 300 years after the death of Virgil in 19 BC. The decisive figure here is Lactantius (*c.*240–*c.*320), whose *Divine Institutes* 7.24 describes the condition of the new Christian world, mixing language from the Bible, the Sibylline oracles, and Virgil. Lactantius's discussion quotes lines 21–45 from *Eclogue* 4, noting that 'quae poeta secundum Cymaeae Sibylae carmina prolocutus est . . . ' ('the poet spoke these things according to the songs of the Cumaean Sibyl . . . '). This passage seems to credit the sibyl and not Virgil with being a prophet, although since the discussion is about prophecy and poetry more generally, we should perhaps not read too much into it.[18]

A more detailed Christian interpretation of *Eclogue* 4 comes just a few years later, at the Council of Nicaea in 325. From this meeting, Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.*260–339) preserves a Good Friday sermon, *Oratio ad coetum sanctorum* (speech to the assembly of saints), that is generally attributed to the Emperor Constantine (272/3–337) and was appended to Eusebius's life of Constantine. Chapters 19 through 21 of this speech use *Eclogue* 4 to show in detail that Christ's coming was prophesied by the pagans. Constantine hesitates initially, quoting the first few lines of the poem and stating that he supposes that the child is the Saviour and that the virgin is Mary. The hesitations disappear, however, as his exegesis continues. After quoting lines 8–10, Constantine writes that Virgil was, he believes, acquainted with the mystery by which Christ became the saviour of mankind. He then quotes lines 23–5 and concludes that this is consistent with Christianity, for the Holy Spirit presents the cradle of God to His people and the serpent who beguiled Adam and Eve dies, with the power of his venom neutralized by the Resurrection. Constantine continues working his way through the poem, showing that *Eclogue* 4 foretells the blessings of peace and joy that Christ will bring to the world.[19]

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[18] The relevant passage from *Divine Institutes* 7.24 is most accessible in Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 489–91. See also Benko, 'Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*', pp. 670–1.

[19] Benko, 'Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*', pp. 670–1; and for the English translation, Ziolkowski and Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 491–6. The Greek text of

Why the Christian interpretation of *Eclogue* 4 arose around the beginning of the fourth century and not earlier is an interesting, although ultimately unanswerable, question. Steven Benko has suggested that the timing was connected to an evolving interpretation of Scripture among the early Christians. Christ promised to return to earth, and initially this was expected to happen soon. But when, after several centuries, the Christian community was still waiting, writers like Lactantius and Eusebius began to think more seriously about how they would get along in this world until the return of Christ. This world was the Greco-Roman culture of late antiquity, in which Virgil occupied a key place. The Messianic interpretation of *Eclogue* 4 in Constantine's speech provided a way to connect to non-Christian society and to give Christianity respectability.[20]

This approach was developed further in a commentary to *Eclogue* 4 by Junius Philargyrius (late fourth/early fifth century or later). At the beginning of his commentary, Philargyrius states clearly his basic hermeneutic principle, that this poem was one 'in quibus de Deo et de Christo multa scripsisse manifestissime' ('in which [Virgil] wrote many things most clearly about God and Christ').[21] The child is Christ, but the virgin could be Justice or Mary, although at the next verse Philargyrius again emphasizes that 'estimavit . . . Virgilius quod de Augusto praedixit Sibylla, cum de Christo omnia prophetavit' ('Virgil considered that the sibyl foretold about Augustus when she prophesied all things concerning Christ').[22] This could happen because the Saviour came in the time of Augustus (on verse 14).[23]

Constantine's speech may be found at *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, vol. 7: *Eusebius*, ed. A. Heikel (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902), pp. 149–92. See also A. Wlosok, 'Zwei Beispiele frühchristlicher "Vergilrezeption": Polemik [Lact., div. inst. 5,10] und Usurpation [Or. Const. 19–21]', in *Res humanae—res divinae: Kleine Schriften*, ed. E. Heck and E. A. Schmidt, Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, NF 2, Reihe, 84 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1990), pp. 437–57.

[20] Benko, 'Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*', pp. 681–2. Especially useful in establishing the broader context that Virgilian pastoral played in the culture of the fourth and fifth centuries is Wolfgang Schmid, 'Tityrus Christianus', *Rheinisches Museum* 96 (1953): 101–65.

[21] Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100,* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 151.

[22] Carcopino, *Virgile et le mystère*, p. 201 n. 2.

[23] Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 153.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the Messianic interpretation was adopted universally and without reservation during these centuries. Jerome (*c.*347–420) can serve as a good example of how conflicted the early Christians could be about all this. As Harald Hagandahl has shown, there are nineteen citations to the *Eclogues* in Virgil's works, twenty-nine to the *Georgics*, and eighty to the *Aeneid*, with every book of the epic being represented; this makes Virgil Jerome's favourite poet, with the number of citations to his works totalling more than those from all the other poets put together and surpassing even Cicero, Jerome's great stylistic model.[24] Yet it is also Jerome who had the famous dream in which he was mocked at the heavenly gates for being a Ciceronian, not a Christian (*Epistle* 22.30), and this ambivalence carried over into his approach to *Eclogue* 4. After quoting *Ecl.* 4.6–7 in *Epistle* 53.7, Jerome writes 'non sic etiam Maronem sine Christo possumus dicere Christianum... Puerilia sunt haec et circulatorum ludo similia, docere quod ignores' ('nor could we say that even Virgil was a Christian without Christ... These are childish views and akin to the sport of quacks: to teach what you do not know').[25] But even while objecting to what he saw as the misappropriation of Virgil's text, Jerome could not stop quoting from it himself.[26]

Augustine (354–430) was also ambivalent towards the Christianization of *Eclogue* 4, although his ambivalence was less pronounced. In *De doctrina Christiana* 2.40.60–1, Augustine uses the metaphor of the Israelites despoiling Egypt to propose that the Christians should take what is useful from pagan culture, suggesting that while he was not ready to break away from pagan culture, he was not completely comfortable with it either. In her exploration of Virgil's place in Augustine's work, Sabine MacCormack emphasizes an evolution in his thinking, in which the easy appropriation of classical material during the 380s gives way to a growing awareness that people like his own mother Monica nurtured an exemplary relationship to God without pagan literary culture, so that by his old age Augustine regretted the syncretism of his early writings.[27] This approach might be expected to account for what appears to be some lack of consistency in Augustine's handling of *Eclogue* 4. In *Epistle* 137.3.12, for example, he quotes *Ecl.* 4.13–14 and concludes that these lines refer to the grace of God. In *De civitate Dei* 10.27, however, Augustine seems to suggest that the sibyl had prophesied about Christ and that Augustine had preserved this prophecy,[28] but only a Christian can recognize the truth in a prophecy like this.[29] Thus like Lactantius, Augustine justified the use of *Eclogue* 4 to guide the pagans to Christ.[30]

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[24] Harald Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckri Aktiebolog, 1958), pp. 1–102, 276–81.

[25] Ziolkowski and Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 499–500; and Benko, 'Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*', p. 677. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics*, pp. 310–11 feels that the basic issue here is one of scholarly method: making Virgil a Christian before Christ was born does violence to history, and this is what Jerome is objecting to. Hagendahl believes that Jerome's objection is specific in this passage, to Proba and to what Jerome sees as her misappropriation of Virgil's writings.

[26] Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics*, pp. 310–11.

As we leave behind the church fathers, we continue to find a variety of approaches to *Eclogue* 4. In sections 23–4 of *The Exposition of the Content of Virgil According to Moral Philosophy*, for example, Fulgentius (467–533) quotes *Ecl.* 4.6–7, but he then has 'Virgil' say, 'nullo enim omnia vera nosse contingit nisi vobis, quibus sol veritatis inluxit. Neque enim hoc pacto in tuis libris conductus narrator accessi . . . ' ('No one is permitted to know all the truth except you Christians, on whom shines the sun of truth. But I have not come as an expositor well-versed in your books of Scripture . . . ') This suggests at the very least that there are limits to what Fulgentius thought Virgil knew about Christianity.[31] The *Scholia Bernensia*

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[27] Sabine MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry: Virgil in the Mind of Augustine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 24–88. Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 30–1, 140–1, and 151, explains things a little differently, noting that in the *Confessions* Virgil represented the lure of pleasure that could arouse dangerous emotions, but as Augustine worked out the role of grammar in his larger approach to reading, he continued to quote from the *Aeneid*. See also Garry Wills, 'Vergil and St. Augustine', in Farrell and Putnam, eds, *Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, pp. 123–32.

[28] Ziolkowski and Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 496–8.

[29] See also Benko, 'Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*', pp. 674–7.

[30] Cameron, *The Last Pagans* is a magisterial overview of the first centuries after Christ that demonstrates the full complexity of the relationship between pagan culture and the emerging Christian religion; see esp. pp. 567–626. Pierre Courcelle, 'Les exégèses chrétiennes de la quatrième Eclogue', *Revue des études anciennes* 59 (1957): 294–319, lists the relevant passages from the church fathers and emphasizes the diversity of interpretations found there.

[31] Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, '*Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis*', in *Opera,* ed. Rudolf Wilhelm Oskar Helm (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1898), pp. 86–107, with the quotation at p. 103. The translation is from Fulgentius,

(eighth century?) offer a more clear-cut interpretive principle: 'In hac ecloga solus poeta loquitur de restauratione novi saeculi . . . quod secundum Christianos ad novum testamentum per Christum et Mariam renovatum de pravato convenit' ('In this eclogue the poet alone speaks concerning the restoration of the new age which according to the Christians fits with the new testament renewed from evil through Christ and Mary').[32] But with Abelard (1079–142), things become less straightforward again. In one of his letters Abelard quotes *Ecl.* 4.1–2 and 4–7 and writes, 'Inspice singula Sibyllae dicta et quam integer et aperte Christianae fidei de Christo summam complectatur' ('watch each word of the Sibyl, and how wholly and openly she embraces the sum of the Christian faith in Christ').[33] In his *Introduction to Theology*, however, Abelard refers to *Eclogue* 4 and says that Virgil, or the sibyl he was drawing upon, may not have known that the coming of Christ was being foretold ('fortassis poeta ignorante'), but later events made the meaning clear. This is all right, he continues, for words can have a hidden sense that their speakers do not perceive, as when Caiaphas said that it was opportune for one to die so that an entire people might not perish.[34] Pope Innocent III (1160/1–1216) quoted the Virgilian phrase 'iam nova progenies' ('now there is a new offspring'; *Ecl.* 4.8) straightforwardly in a Christmas sermon,[35] and part of the advent liturgy at Rheims cathedral reads, 'O Maro, prophet of the Gentiles, bear thou thy witness unto

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'The Exposition of the Content of Virgil according to Moral Philosophy', in *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, trans. Leslie George Whitbread (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 1971), pp. 103–53, with the passage cited on pp. 132–3.

[32] Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 151. Elsewhere in the Scholia Bernensia we read, 'Saturni regnum aureum sub Octaviano adulanter restauratur, quod secundum Christianos ad novum testamentum per Christum et Mariam renovatum de pravato convenit' ('The golden age of Saturn is fawningly renewed under Octavian, which according to the Christians in the New Testament is renewed from depravity through Christ and Mary').

[33] Ziolkowski and Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 501–2. The letter is usually numbered 6, but it would be 7 if the *Historia* were included in the count.

[34] Peter Dronke, 'Integumenta Virgilii', in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile: actes du colloque organizé par l'École française de Rome*, Rome, 25–28 October 1982, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 80 (Rome: l'École française de Rome, 1985), pp. 319–23.

[35] Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, intro. Jan M. Ziolkowski, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997; originally published in Italian in 1885), pp. 99–103.

Christ'.[36] Vincent of Beauvais (*c.*1190–1264), however, is more ambivalent, quoting *Ecl.* 4.4, 7, and 13–14 in *Speculum historiale* 6.62, then referring to Jerome and Augustine and noting that the former objected to the Christian interpretation of these lines while the latter accepted it.[37] The most famous Christian appropriation of the Messianic Eclogue is undoubtedly that of Dante Alighieri (*c.*1265–1321), whose Statius in *Purgatorio* 22.64–73 quotes *Ecl.* 4.5–7 and tells Virgil that through him, he became both a poet and a Christian, for these lines served as a lamp that enlightened those who came after him. Yet ironically, the words that saved Statius did not save Virgil himself,[38] which suggests that Dante, like Abelard, must have located the Christianization of *Eclogue* 4 in the reader rather than the writer.

The *Divine Comedy* may be the best-known appropriation of the Messianic Eclogue, but it was not the last. The Cumaean Sibyl, with a phrase from Virgil, appears in the pavement of the cathedral of Siena

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[36] Royds, *Virgil and Isaiah*, p. 2; see the comment posted online by A. N. Wilson in *The Telegraph* on 7 December 2000, accessible through the paper's website, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/4257483/World-of-books.html> (accessed 11 April 2014). Karl Strecker, 'Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto', *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, n.s. 5 of *Studi medievali* (Turin: Giovanni Chiantore, 1932), pp. 167–86, notes that parts of *Eclogue* 4 like the verse quoted in the title of his article achieved such wide circulation in the Middle Ages that they were often quoted from an intermediary source or without a real understanding of their original context.

[37] Jacques Berlioz, 'Virgile dans la littérature des exempla (XIII^{e}-XV^{e} siècles)', in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile*, pp. 67–70; and John Wells Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer: Studies in the Virgilian Legends* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 21–2.

[38] In *Purgatorio* 22.63–73, Dante writes, 'Tu prima m'invïasti / verso Parnaso a ber ne le grotte, / e prima appresso Dio m'alluminasti. / Facesti come quei che va di notte, / che porta il lume dietro e sé non giova, / ma dopo sé fa le persone dotte / quando dicesti: "Secol si rinova; / torna giustizia e primo tempo umano, / e progenïe scende da ciel nova." / Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano'. ('You [Virgil] it was who first sent me toward Parnassus to drink in its caves, and you who first did light me on to God. You were like one who goes by night and carries the light behind him and profits not himself, but makes those wise who follow him, when you said, "The ages are renewed; Justice returns and the first generation of man, and a new progeny descends from heaven" [*Ecl.* 4.5–7]. Through you I was a poet, through you a Christian'.) Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, ed. and trans. Charles Singleton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 1: 238–9. Statius is not considered a Christian by modern scholars, but the story of how Dante came to this conclusion is an interesting one; see Craig Kallendorf and Hilaire Kallendorf, '"*Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano*" *Purg.* 22.73: Statius as Christian, from "Fact" to Fiction', *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch* 77 (2002): 61–72, with bibliography.

(dated between 1482 and 1489),[39] and Virgil may be found in a wooden choir stall in the cathedral of Zamora (beginning of the sixteenth century) holding an open book with the words 'nova progenies' and 'Vergilius Bucol. 4' in Gothic letters.[40] As late as 1712, Alexander Pope (1688–1744) wrote 'Messiah: A Sacred Eclogue Composed of Several Passages of Isaiah the Prophet, Written in Imitation of Virgil's Pollio', which Samuel Johnson (1709–84) translated into Latin, with the Latin version emphasizing even further than the original the associations between *Eclogue* 4 and the prophecy of Isaiah 11.6–9.[41] By this point, however, we have left manuscript culture behind.

Within the period when classical literature circulated in manuscript form, the reactions to *Eclogue* 4 can serve as a focal point for Virgil's relationship to Christianity. Steven Benko writes that at least from the time of Fulgentius onward, *Eclogue* 4 'was generally and with few exceptions only counted among the pagan prophecies concerning the coming of Christ'.[42] As we have seen, this generalization would benefit from some nuancing. For one thing, the fact that the issue was discussed in a variety of different contexts led to conclusions that were often similar but not identical. We should also note that there were rather more exceptions than Benko's generalization suggests; indeed, throughout the manuscript age writers like Odo of Cluny (ninth century) and Hugh of Cluny (eleventh century) had nightmares dissuading them from the study of Virgil.[43] Likewise, as late as the fourteenth century Coluccio Salutati (1331–46) and Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) had a famous quarrel about whether the pagan poets were appropriate reading matter for a Christian.[44] Finally, there were divergent opinions about whether these prophecies represent the actions of the Holy Spirit on an unbeliever or whether the reader is the one making the association between Virgil and Christian truth. The road from which the byways of complexity diverge, however, still leads towards the association of Virgil's poems with Christian truth, even if some travellers took different paths and those who stayed on the main highway did not agree on all the details of the journey.

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[39] Carcopino, *Virgile et le mystère*, p. 203 n. 1.

[40] Luigi Suttina, 'L'effigie di Virgilio nella Cattedrale di Zamora', in *Virgilio nel Medio Evo,* pp. 342–4 with picture; see also Royds, *Virgil and Isaiah*, p. 2. The cathedral was consecrated in 1174 but it was remodelled later, with the wooden stalls in the choir being added at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[41] Rosario Portale, *Virgilio in Inghilterra: saggi* (Pisa: Giardini, 1991), pp. 100–1. It is worth noting that the scholarly debate over the Christian interpretation of *Eclogue* 4 did not end with Pope's generation. John Martyn (1699–1768), a professor at Cambridge University, wrote that the words 'Cumaei . . . carminis' in line 4 'must certainly allude to our blessed Saviour, of whose birth the prophecies in Isaiah are so like many verses in this Eclogue that we may reasonably conclude, that those truly inspired writings had been seen, by the Sibyls themselves, or at least by Virgil' (Virgil, *Bucolicorum eclogue decem*, trans. and notes by John Martyn, 2nd edn (London: R. Reily, for T. Osborne, 1749), p. 148). A generation later, however, Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) began his discussion of *Eclogue* 4 by writing, 'In hac Ecloga interpretanda dici vix potest, quam inanem operam viri docti vana religione capti navaverint vaticinationem Sibyllae de Christi natalibus expressam esse, quam Virgilius ingeniose ad natales nobilis pueri transtulerit . . . ' ('as far as the interpretation of this eclogue is concerned, words can hardly express how much effort learned men, gripped by an empty piety, have wasted in trying to show that the sibyl's prophecy was an express reference to the birth of Christ, and that Virgil used his ingenuity to transfer it to the birth of a noble child . . . '; Virgil, *Opera*, notes by Christian Gottlob Heyne, 4 vols (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1767), 1: 37). Heyne's commentary, which was the first to have been developed with a genuinely modern critical spirit, delivered a death blow to the Christian interpretation of *Eclogue* 4 from which it never recovered, but as the books and articles listed in note 17 indicate, the scholarly engagement with this question continues into the present.

[42] Benko, 'Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*', p. 678.

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[43] Birger Munk Olsen, 'Schools and Schooling (2)', in *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, edited by Richard F. Thomas and Jan M. Ziolkowski, 3 vols (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2013), p. 1129.

[44] In *De laboribus Herculis*, ed. B. L. Ullman, Bibliotheca Latinorum scriptorum mediae et recentioris aetatis, 2 vols (Zurich: Thesaurus Mundi, 1951), 1: 86, Coluccio Salutati wrote that it was acceptable to violate authorial intent in order to make pagan poetry validate Christian truth. In his letter to Giuliano Zonarini *(Epistolario*, ed. Francesco Novati, 4 vols (Rome: Forzani E. C. Tipografia del Senato, 1891–1911), 1: 304), he suggested that Virgil was directly influenced by God in passages that illustrate Christian doctrine: the trinity (*Aen.* 1.664–5 and *Ecl.* 8.72–4), the establishment of the church (*Aen.* 3.409), the nature of Hell (*Aen.* 6.616–17), and the existence of purgatory and paradise (*Aen.* 6.743–4). On *Eclogue* 4 in particular, Salutati vacillated, arguing that Virgil was a prophet as a result of genius, ignorance, or some sort of divine inspiration (second letter to Zonarini, *Epistolario*, 1: 327). Against this position stood Giovanni Dominici, whose *Lucula noctis* developed the position that pagan literature threatened the spiritual well-being of a good Christian. Even into the next century, however, a Virgilian commentator like Giovani Fabrini could write that Virgil proceeded as if he were a Christian, either under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit or because he had read the Old Testament (Virgil, *Opera* (Venice: Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Bernardo Sessa, 1597), f. 167v). These points are developed at further length in Craig Kallendorf, 'From Virgil to Vida: The *Poeta Theologus* in Italian Renaissance Commentary', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56 (1995): 41–62; see also Ronald Witt, 'Coluccio Salutati and the Conception of the *Poeta Theologus* in the Fourteenth Century', *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977): 539–42.

2.3. VIRGIL GOES TO SCHOOL

The works of Virgil survive in an enormous number of manuscripts, over 750 in total.[45] Anyone who wanted to, of course, could copy a manuscript, but as their *explicit*s (ending statements) show, many Virgilian manuscripts were copied by monks as an act of devotion: typical is one cited by Comparetti that is dedicated to God and 'Beatus Martinus' ('the blessed Martin').[46] What is not immediately obvious, even when the Messianic reading of *Eclogue* 4 is taken into account, is why monks whose lives were devoted to serving God would need so many copies of poetry written by a pagan. An important part of the answer can be found in statements like this one, at the conclusion of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1570 (tenth or eleventh century): 'Quem [codicem] ego devoveo Domino et Sancto Petro perpetualiter permansurum per multa curricula temporum, propter exercitium degentium puerorum laudemque Domini et Apostolorum principis Petri' ('I dedicate to the Lord and to Saint Peter this book that will endure forever through many laps around the circuit of the times, for the training of living children and the praise of the Lord and the apostles of Peter, their leader').[47]

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[45] Giancarlo Alessio, 'Tradizione manoscritta', in della Corte, ed., *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, 3: 432–43, lists all the known Virgilian manuscripts through the end of the sixteenth century, with the exception of the late antique witnesses. Birger Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, 3 vols (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982–9), 2: 673–876, describes in detail 284 Virgilian manuscripts dated through the twelfth century, with ninety-seven more from the same period that contain commentaries, lives, etc. The actual number is a little higher, since Munk Olsen inserted a few manuscripts identified toward the end of his researches in between the others without changing his original numbering, and Peter Marshall, whose copy of Munk Olsen's book I have, has added a few more in pencil. See also L. D. Reynolds, 'Virgil', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 433–6; and R. Alden Smith, 'Virgilian Manuscripts: Codex to Critical Edition', in *Virgil,* Blackwell Introductions to the Classical World (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 150–67. It is worth noting, however, that in spite of the number of surviving manuscripts, interest in Virgil did not remain high at all times and in all places; Robert Black, for example, has amassed persuasive evidence that Virgil's poetry served as a school text only occasionally in thirteenth-century Florence (*Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 192–200).

[46] Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 95 n. 60.

[47] Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 95 n. 60.

The key phrase here is ‘propter exercitium degentium puerorum’ (‘for the training of living children’), which places Virgil’s poetry firmly into the environment of the schools. At one level this represents a continuation of the status quo from the Roman Empire, when Virgil was one of the *quadriga*, the four authors (the others were Terence, Sallust, and Cicero) who formed the foundation of the Roman educational system.[48] The papyrus rolls from which students learned their lessons survive only in fragments, but these fragments come from all over the empire and show clearly that they were used as textbooks.[49] This made the works of Virgil so well known that graffiti from Pompeii include phrases like ‘conticuere omnes’ (‘all were silent’), the first words with which the schoolmaster would have begun his reading of book 2 of the *Aeneid*, as do silver spoons, ceramic tiles, bas-reliefs, and tombstones.[50] As we have seen, during the time of Jerome and Augustine some Christians displayed scruples about their relationship to their pagan past, but the early Christians never set out to develop an educational structure that would compete with the traditional one in the society around them, so that by the fifth century the children of the Christianized upper classes found themselves firmly entrenched in a school system that retained its roots in the curriculum and methodology of the past.[51] Indeed, after the Carolingian era the typical Virgilian manuscript adopted a long, narrow shape that reflected its use as a school text and a physical make-up that was designed to meet pedagogical needs, beginning with a life of the author, moving to arguments before each book of the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* that would summarize the text for the student reader, and culminating in a growing number of marginalia that would aid in the comprehension of a language that was becoming increasingly alien (e.g. definitions of unusual words, points, and signs to facilitate syntactical unscrambling for students who were becoming more accustomed to a word-order language).[52]

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[48] Marrou, *A History of Education*, *passim*.

[49] Maria Chiara Scappaticcio, *Papyri Vergilianae: l’apporto della papirologia alla storia della tradizione virgiliana (I–VI d.C.)* (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2013).

[50] Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 26–7; and Vincenzo Ussani, ‘In margine al Comparetti’, in *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, pp. 3–5.

[51] R. A. Markus, ‘Paganism, Christianity, and the Latin Classics in the Fourth Century’, in *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, ed. J. W. Binns (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 2. Markus notes that events like Julian’s decree of 362 that excluded Christians from teaching stand as the exception that proves the rule, in that they appeared odd and tyrannical at the time, and that tensions that flared up in the 380s and 390s could not in the end retard the forward movement towards general acceptance of pagan culture.

It is important to emphasize here that on one level or another, medieval education was inextricable from Christianity and that classical authors were therefore read not as an end in themselves, but as a means to a church-sanctioned goal. It is important not to overgeneralize, given that Virgilian manuscripts range over more than a thousand years and were produced in every corner of Europe during that time, but for our purposes the broad outlines will suffice. It is possible that the church might not have completely monopolized education in the early Middle Ages, but by 1100 two types of schools directed by the church and staffed by religious teachers were common: monastic schools, run by members of a religious order, and chapter schools, also known as episcopal or cathedral schools because the chapter of canons that managed instruction was attached to a cathedral and supervised by a bishop. This system operated in a similar way for several more centuries in some places like England, but in Italy, where change appears to have come more quickly, communal and independent schools were offering serious competition by 1300. Even here, though, it is important to note that a good many teachers were clergymen, and that the culture in which education took place was so profoundly Christian that it could not help but shape the values in which the young were to be brought up.[53] As late as 1450, for example, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405–64), a key theorist of the humanist educational reforms, was still writing in *De liberorum educatione* (*On the Education of Boys*) that both pagan literature and the Bible teach us that everything we do in this life must prepare us for the next one, and that even the Romans subordinated everything else to religion: 'At cum Deum prae ceteris omnes colendum litterae clamitent, huic te primum dabis commendabisque' ('But since all literature repeatedly cries out that God must be worshipped beyond others, you must first give yourself and entrust yourself to Him').[54] The Bible, Aeneas Sylvius writes, leads directly to God, but its truths are hidden and therefore inaccessible to children, so that:

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[52] Louis Holtz, 'La redécouverte de Virgile aux VIII^{e} et IX^{e} siècles, d'après les manuscrits conservés', in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile* (Rome: École française, 1985), pp. 16–22. Holtz notes that since the Latin spoken by these students was based on the Bible, the manuscripts from this period have more glosses than those from late antiquity, where the language spoken by the students was closer to that in the text. See also Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 42 and 52; and Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. vii.

[53] Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 3–41. Grendler notes that even at the end of the sixteenth century, Pope Pius IV used his bull *In sacrosancta beati Petri* to order all teachers to profess their faith before the local bishop or his representative. All the teachers in Venice, whether or not they taught in church-affiliated schools, did so, affirming that they taught in accordance with Christian doctrine, placed images of Christ, Mary, and the saints on the walls of their classrooms, and neither owned nor read prohibited books. Many of them were teaching Virgil, and they did so within these parameters.

> Non est ab re ut in aliis doctorum tamen virorum libris exercearis. 'Est enim et poetis', sicut Basilius ait, 'et oratoribus et ceteris scriptoribus et omnibus inhaerendum, unde nobis ad ingenii exercitationem aliqua sit utilitas accessura'.
>
> (It is yet not beside the point for you to be trained in other books of men who are nevertheless learned. For as Basil says: 'We must apply ourselves to poets, orators, and other writers, and to all from whom we may derive some profit in training the intellect.')[55]

To be sure, there were hesitations among some of the church fathers about reading pagan literature, but as Aeneas Sylvius notes, Paul himself quotes Epimenides and Menander, and what is good enough for Paul should be good enough for any other Christian. That is not to say that too much time should be devoted to the poets, nor that everything they wrote should be read. Instead the Christian reader should be like the bee, selecting the flowers of virtue and exemplary living and rejecting the rest, or should follow the precept in Deuteronomy, shaving or cutting off idolatry, voluptuousness, error, and lust from the captive woman so that she might be changed into someone worthy of God.[56]

The sheer number of surviving Virgilian manuscripts confirms that far more often than not, Virgil's poetry offered plenty of honey to the busy bees in the medieval classroom. Unlike what Aeneas Sylvius might appear to be suggesting, however, these manuscripts show clearly that Virgil was able to retain a key place in the medieval curriculum not only because of what he said, but also because of how he said it: in other words, as a model of correct Latinity, Virgil was studied as a means towards attaining the mastery of Latin that was necessary to read and study the Bible.[57] Here the end (studying the Bible) has changed, but the way Virgil was taught did not, for as Quintilian tells us, in the schools of the Roman empire the *grammaticus* (grammar teacher) taught two things to children after they learned to read, the art of speaking correctly and of interpreting the poets, both of which rested in detailed language study.[58] Indeed, the medieval student could have had knowledge of over 3,000 lines from Virgilian poetry simply by studying the late-antique grammar texts, which cite Virgil as an example more than any other classical writer because his usage was considered exemplary.[59] As Martin Irvine concludes, 'the commentaries produced in a Christian environment—especially the Bern scholia and Fulgentius's *Continentia*—show that Christian *grammatica* subsumed and continued late classical methodology for Christian grammatical culture and its revised canon of texts. Early medieval textual communities readily co-opted the authority of Virgil for their own uses.'[60] It should therefore not surprise us to find an epigram, traditionally attributed to Ausonius, that recasts the opening words of the *Aeneid* to fit the environment in which they were generally encountered: '"arma virumque" docens, atque "arma virumque" peritus' ('teaching "arms and the man," and skilled in "arms and the man"').[61]

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[54] Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, '*De liberorum educatione*', in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. Craig Kallendorf, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 5 (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 164–5.

[55] Piccolomini, '*De liberorum educatione*', pp. 164–5.

[56] Piccolomini, '*De liberorum educatione*', pp. 214–19. The lines from the pagan poets appear at Tit. 1:12 and I Cor. 15:33. The bee simile is taken from Basil of Caesarea, *Ad adolesc.* 4.1, while the discussion of the captive woman comes from Jerome, *Epistle* 70.

Thus the most widespread type of annotation found in Virgilian manuscripts, the pedagogical note, does not reflect the interests and desires of the reader, as most handwritten notes entered into the margins of modern printed books do, but instead answers the needs of a third party, the grammar teacher who is using the text to teach the Latin language to students who are in many cases barely able to manage such difficult poetry.[62] While many of these notes define unusual words and explain the finer points of syntax, others offer the information on history, politics, myth, and geography that is necessary to make the text understandable at a first reading. A good example of how all this worked may be found in Oxford, All Souls College 82, a twelfth-century school manuscript. Over the course of three centuries this manuscript received three major sets of marginal annotations, each of which built on what had been written before. At *Aen.* 1.107, for example, 'aestus' ('fever, seething, tide, anxiety') in 'furit aestus harenis' ('a raging sandy surge') is glossed 'periculum' ('danger'), which both defines the word and limits its meaning. 'Samos' (*Aen.* 1.16) is glossed 'an island' and 'Symois' (*Aen.* 1.100) 'a river', with notes like these converting the specific into the general in a way that makes the text both easier to understand and less alien to someone who does not know where these places are. 'Latona' (*Aen.* 1.502) is identified as 'mater dianae' ('the mother of Diana'), while 'Oenotri' at *Aen.* 1.532 receives a fuller explanation: '"Oenotri" dicuntur a cultu vini quod ibi habundabat. "Enos", grece. "vinum", Latine. Unde "enophorum" vas vinarium'. ('They are called "Oenotri" from the cultivation of the vine, which used to abound there. "Enos" in Greek is "wine" in Latin. Thus "enophorium": a wine vessel'.) At *Aen.* 1.77, 'capessere' ('to act upon') is first annotated 'frequenter facere' ('do often'), then a second glossator adds 'id est perficere' ('that is, finish'). The third annotator adds other notes to help readers make their way through the text, like plot summaries and topic headings: *Aen.* 1.12, 'Urbs antiqua fuit' ('There was a city of old') generates an explanation of why this passage is important, for it 'explicat causam odii iunonis' ('explains the cause of Juno's enmity'). This annotator also explains things in ways that allow us to imagine a schoolmaster standing in front of his students and noting that 'vitam traho' ('I draw out my life', *Aen.* 3.646–7) suggests that 'ducere vitam nobilium et fortunatorum est sed trahere vitam miserorum' ('it is for the noble and fortunate to lead a life, but it is for the wretched to drag it out') and Sinon's trickery is said to have been 'Pelasga' ('Pelasgan', *Aen.* 2.152) because 'greci naturaliter fallaces sunt' ('Greeks are deceitful by nature'). This inclination to explain extends to mythology as well, for this glossator explains 'generis vestri' ('your race', *Aen.* 1.132) as 'de astreo qui cum titanibus pugnavit et aurora nati sunt venti' ('the winds were born of Astraeus, who fought along with the Titans, and of Aurora').[63] Notes like these are as significant for what they do not do as for what they do: they make a difficult poem comprehensible for an audience of students, but they stay almost exclusively at the level of lexicography, grammar, and basic textual elucidation, what is necessary to guide a struggling reader through the text.

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[57] Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 27 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 12; see also Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 46; and Holtz, 'La redécouverte de Virgile', pp. 10–11.

[58] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 1.4.

[59] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 33; Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 28–32 makes the same point.

[60] Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, pp. 120–1.

[61] Elizabeth A. Clark and Diane F. Hatch, *The Golden Bough, the Oaken Cross*, American Academy of Religion Texts and Translations, 5 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), p. 102. Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 64 n. 50, notes that the epigram was probably not composed by Ausonius.

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[62] Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, pp. 31–2.

Each of these sets of notes builds on what was written in the manuscript before, and each of them, like most medieval annotations, also draws from Virgil's most important late-antique glossator, Servius (*c.*400).[64] Servius's commentary has attained something of an iconic status in Virgilian scholarship, which makes it easy to forget that it was originally a tool used by teachers in order to train children. Servius's notes range widely, covering grammatical and linguistic clarification, *historia* (i.e. myth, narrative details, historical and geographical references, and antiquities, leading occasionally to allegory), comments on style and poetic language, exposition of unusual words especially through etymologies, philosophical and religious doctrine, and observations on the literary tradition and Virgil's place in it,[65] but it is important to remember that notes on language encompass two-thirds of the total, allegorizing comments are rare, and only one-seventh of the annotations focus on the broader mythological, historical, and literary background.[66] The extract below, Servius's note on *Aen*. 1.24, is typical:

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[63] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, pp. 41–80, offers a lengthy, thoughtful analysis of these notes, from which I have taken representative examples here and added translations when necessary. Holtz, 'La redécouverte de Virgile', p. 16, asks and answers an intriguing question: there are, to be sure, an enormous number of Virgilian manuscripts, but given Virgil's central place in Western education during this period, why are there not more? The answer, as suggested by All Souls 82, is that Virgilian manuscripts were used and reused for so long that many of them simply disintegrated and do not survive.

[64] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, pp. 47–53.

[65] Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 132. Julian Ward Jones, Jr, 'Allegorical Interpretation in Servius', *Classical Journal* 56 (1960–1): 217–26, identifies 182 notes in all of Servius's commentary that offer examples of historical, physical, moral, euhemeristic, or religious rite allegorization, but not according to a single overarching interpretive scheme; see also Jones's 'The Allegorical Traditions of the *Aeneid*', in *Vergil at 2000: Commemorative Essays on the Poet and His Influence*, ed. J. D. Bernard, AMS Ars poetica, 3 (New York: AMS Press, 1986), pp. 107–32.

> [24] PRIMA atqui Hercules prior contra Troianos pugnavit: unde modo 'prima' 'princeps' accipienda est. nam poeta plerumque significationem nominum dat participiis, vel contra, ut 'volventibus annis', significat enim 'volubilibus'. hac licentia et in hoc nomine usus est, ut 'primam' pro 'principe' poneret. PRIMA inter primos; alii pro 'olim'; alii 'prima' simpliciter, postea enim alii dii interesse coeperunt; alii 'prima' non ordine, sed voluntate. aliter 'primusque Machaon'; ibi enim 'in primis' intellegitur. AD TROIAM 'ad' et 'apud' accusativae sunt praepositiones, sed 'apud' semper 'in loco' significat, 'ad' et 'in loco' et 'ad locum', ut 'ad quem tum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est', et Cicero 'decem fiscos ad senatorem quendam relictos', item 'ad Marcum Laecam te habitare velle dixisti'. CARIS ARGIS illic enim eam coli omnibus notum est. 'Argos' autem in numero singulari generis neutri est, ut Horatius 'aptum dicet equis Argos ditesque Mycenas', in plurali numero masculini, ut 'hi Argi'. ceterum derivatio nominis 'Argivos' facit, non 'Argos'.[67]
>
> (FIRST. and Hercules fought earlier against the Trojans, from which now 'first' is to be taken as 'prince'. For the poet generally gives the meaning of nouns to participles, or the opposite, as 'rolling years', for it signifies 'revolving'. He also used this license in this noun, so that he put 'first' for 'prince'. FIRST. among the first. Some say in place of 'once', others simply say 'first', for afterward other gods began to be present; others say 'first' not in order, but in will. Otherwise, 'and first Machaon', for there it is understood as 'in the first'. AT TROY. 'ad' and 'apud' are accusative prepositions, but 'apud' always signifies 'in a place', 'ad' both 'in a place' and 'to a place', as 'to whom then Juno, a suppliant, used these words', and Cicero, 'ten money boxes left to a certain senator', and likewise, 'you said that you, Laeca, wanted to live at Marcus's'. BELOVED ARGOS. For it is known that there she is worshipped by everyone. 'Argos', therefore, when singular in number, is neuter, as Horace says, 'he will say that Argos is suitable for horses and Mycenae is rich'. When plural in number, it is masculine, as 'these Argoses'. Moreover the origin of the noun produces 'Argivos', not 'Argos'.)

This may not make for exciting reading, but it does provide just what a student who is unfamiliar with words of Greek origins, the subtleties of correct prepositional phrase formation, and transferred epithets needs. For this reason, Servius's commentary was mined, generally without attribution, for centuries.

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[66] Robert Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 169–97; see also Fowler, 'The Virgil Commentary of Servius', pp. 73–8.

[67] Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, 3 vols (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1878–1902), 1: 21–22.

Among those who drew from Servius's commentary almost a millennium after it was written was Coluccio Salutati, Chancellor of Florence and the leading Italian classical scholar of his generation. His Virgilian manuscript, Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F II 23,[68] carries a purchase date of 1355, which suggests that he was probably no longer a student when he bought it but had been out of school for a short enough time that it would be reasonable to see him making the kinds of notes that are typical of the pedagogical commentaries we have been considering. This is precisely what he does. The vast majority of Salutati's notes fall into one of three groups. The first group defines and explains words from Virgil's text: 'exorsa' ('attempts') means 'incepta' ('undertakings', on *Aen.* 10.111), while at the funeral games for Anchises, Aeneas can be called 'pater' ('father'; *Aen.* 5.424) in the sense of one 'paternum habens iudicium vel equale' ('having paternal, or fair, judgment'). Another large group of notes offers a paraphrase, a rewording designed to simplify and clarify a passage, as when the word 'procubuisse' ('assumes a prone position'; *Aen.* 8.631) is glossed 'id est, prima parte se inclinasse, ut inclinatione corporis ubera preberet infantibus' ('that is, in the first part she inclines herself, in order that by the inclination of her body she might offer her breasts to the babies'). A third group goes beyond paraphrase to explain things that are not immediately obvious, like Dido's declaration after she has come to regret her involvement with Aeneas that she wishes she had remained a chaste widow 'more fere' ('in the manner of a wild beast', *Aen.* 4.551); here Salutati turns to Servius and explains, 'Plinius in Naturali Ystoria dicit lincas post amissos coniuges aliis non iungi' ('Pliny in his *Natural History* says that lynxes do not take another mate after the one they had was lost'). Other notes identify individuals from Greek and Roman mythology (the woodland god whom the Romans called Silvanus was called Pan by the Greeks, on *Aen.* 8.600), geographical locations (Cyllene is the mountain in Arcadia where Maia gave birth to Mercury, on *Aen.* 7.139, taken from Servius), figures from ancient history (Cato the Censor is a different person from Cato Uticensis, on *Aen.* 6.841, again from Servius), and features from ancient life and customs (the 'turbo' to which Amata's frenzied wanderings are compared at *Aen*. 7.378 is a 'lignum rotundum ludi puerilis quod agitatur flagella, scilicet trochus', 'a round piece of wood from a child's game which is put into motion with a cord, namely, a top'). What all these notes have in common is that they clarify the literal meaning of the text as a way of making it into an instrument of grammatical instruction that would allow the reader to solidify the control of Latin as a living language (as chancellor, twenty years after he purchased this manuscript, Salutati would manage the official correspondence of Florence in Latin).[69] This manuscript is also a good one with which to close this discussion because it represents in physical form the way in which this process worked for hundreds of years. Many of the notes go back to Servius, who provided the foundation for this approach to Virgil's poetry. Salutati is not the only annotator of this manuscript; each layer of annotation builds on the one before it, as with All Souls College 82. Since the way the manuscript was used in teaching did not change, additional notes simply made the manuscript more valuable to the generations of students who would use and reuse it.

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[68] A detailed description of the manuscript may be found in Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques*, 2: 702.

There is a paradox, however, behind the fact that several of the manuscripts we have been examining have multiple layers of commentary. The whole point of a commentary is to make a written work comprehensible, and one would think that once the commentator had gone through a text from beginning to end, the job would be finished and the next reader would be able to understand it with relative ease. When that next reader, however, also feels the need to add explanatory comments, it becomes clear that the meaning of the text has not in fact been stabilized, at least yet. The physical evidence shows that again and again, in the surviving Virgilian manuscripts, commentary begets further commentary, such that the effort to clarify what a passage means ends up resembling the effort to decapitate a hydra.

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[69] Salutati's annotations are discussed at length in Virginia Brown and Craig Kallendorf, 'Two Humanist Annotators of Virgil: Coluccio Salutati and Giovanni Tortelli', in *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, eds James Hankins, John Monfasani, and Frederick Purnell, Jr, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 49 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987), pp. 65–148. The standard studies of Salutati are B. L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 4 (Padua: Antenore, 1963); and Ronald Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 6 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1983).

Occasionally the commentaries sought another way to stabilize the text, by associating it with the eternal verities of Christianity. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 7960 (third quarter of the ninth century), for example, associates each eclogue with different types of monks (e.g. *Eclogue* 4 is labelled 'Virgilius anacorita', 'Virgil the anchorite', and *Eclogue* 5 'Virgilius cenobitea', 'Virgil the cenobite') and the individual books of the *Aeneid* with various kinds of clerics (book 5 is labelled 'Virgilius episcopus', 'Virgil the bishop', and book 7 'Virgilius presbiter', 'Virgil the elder').[70] The commentary attributed to Anselm of Laon, which played an important part in explicating Virgil's poetry in the schools, notes at *Aen*. 1.265–71 that Augustine writes that the fall of Troy took place at the time when Moses led the Israelites across the Red Sea; this kind of note links pagan literature explicitly to the Judeo-Christian culture which followed and appropriated it.[71] Notes like this, however, are relatively rare. What should be emphasized is that the manuscripts show clearly that at the most fundamental level, from late antiquity to the dawn of the Renaissance, the foundation on which the edifice of Virgilian study was built was the schools. The manuscripts show that this poetry was not read primarily as an end in itself, but as the means by which the student could attain the control of Latin grammar necessary to read and understand the Bible, the source of eternal truth which Virgil's poetry adumbrated and confirmed.

2.4. VIRGIL IN THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH

This is not to say, of course, that attention was paid to Virgil's style without any interest in his content. In fact, another, smaller group of manuscripts interprets the *Aeneid* allegorically, as stages in an individual's spiritual maturation.[72] This approach has obvious parallels to medieval biblical exegesis, in which interpretation moved from the literal level to one or more meanings found to have been hidden within a passage. But allegorization exists in Servius and was taken up as well by Philargyrius and the Scholia Bernensia, so that on this level too Christian exegesis marks a further development of a technique taken over from antiquity.[73] It is important to note as well that the allegorizations of the *Aeneid* also retain their links to the scholastic environment in which so many manuscripts of the classics were read. The first of these allegorizations, the *Exposition of the Content of Virgil According to Moral Philosophy* by Fulgentius (late fifth to early sixth century), takes the form of a dialogue in which 'Virgil' assumes the role of a condescending, indeed patronizing, schoolmaster and 'Fulgentius' that of the obtuse student whose passive-aggressive resistance provides much of what drama there is in this work—indeed, at one point 'Fulgentius' says, 'sed tantum illa quaerimus levia, quae mensualibus stipendiis grammatici distrahunt puerilibus auscultatibus' ('I want only the slight things that schoolmasters expound, for monthly fees, to boyish ears').

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[70] Guy Lobrichon, 'Saint Virgile auxerrois et les avatars de la IV^{e} Églogue', in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile*, pp. 384–7.

[71] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 66.

[72] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, pp. 8–14, also discusses a third type of medieval commentary on the *Aeneid*, the romance vision, but this is essentially vernacular and moves away from commentaries on Virgil's text to new literary

While the content of these allegorizations is more explicitly Christian than the content of most of the notes in the pedagogical commentaries, it is important to note that Virgil's poetry is not simply swept up, blindly and wholly, into Biblical culture. In the *Exposition*, for example, 'Fulgentius' moves consistently to place 'Virgil's' interpretation into a Christian context. 'Virgil' never objects to this move, but he does note repeatedly that knowledge of Christianity is beyond him. In section 7 (on *Aen*. 1.1), for example, 'Fulgentius' cites 1 Cor. 1.24, noting that Christ, like Aeneas, represents both manliness and wisdom; 'Virgil' responds that 'Fulgentius' can see what God has taught him, while he can only set forth what he sees. In the next

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works based on them. Giorgio Padoan, 'Tradizione e fortuna del comento all' 'Eneide' di Bernard Silvestre', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 3 (1960): 227–40, adds to the one manuscript long known to contain one of these allegorical commentaries, the one by Bernard Silvester, two other manuscripts plus a series of citations from the indirect tradition. But in the end this work, like others in its genre, did not circulate nearly as widely as the pedagogical commentaries.

[73] Padoan, 'Tradizione e fortuna', p. 12; and Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture* (Paris: Aubier, 1962), vol. 4, pt. 2, on the association of allegory with Biblical exegesis; but compare Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, pp. 148–55, which stresses allegorical interpretations like those of Fulgentius as extensions of late Roman grammar.

section 'Fulgentius' refers to Ps. 1.1 to claim that wisdom is more important than manliness, to which 'Virgil' responds, 'Gaudeo, inquit, mi omuncule, his subrogatis sententiis, quia etsi non nobis de consultatione bonae vitae veritas obtigit, tamen ceca quadam felicitate etiam stultis mentibus suas scintillas sparsit' ('I am delighted, little man, with the meanings you have proposed, for even though truth did not provide me with a full account of the good life, yet even over my unillumined mind it scattered its sparks with a sort of groping accuracy').[74] This is assimilation, but not an unproblematic one.

Something similar happens in the allegorization of Bernard Silvestris (twelfth century).[75] This work describes what the human soul does when it is placed into the body, with each book of the *Aeneid* elucidating one age of life: book 1 is infancy, where the soul dies when it is placed into the body; book 2 is boyhood, when speech begins; book 3 is adolescence, focused on instability; book 4 describes young manhood, which is given over to useless pursuits like sex; book 5 is full manhood, with the games representing the exercise of the four cardinal virtues by a mature man; and book 6 depicts the descent to the underworld, through which the mature individual gains knowledge of right and wrong. References to Christianity are sprinkled through the allegorization: in book 1, for example, Bernard explains that both Jupiter and Anchises stand for the Creator God, and when at the end of his analysis of book 3, Aeneas buries his father in anger, Bernard declares that this depicts forgetting God, for the angry are almost always apostates. Indeed, the allegorization of book 6, which is by far the longest section, becomes a line-by-line explication of the journey to the Creator, represented by Anchises. At line 55, Bernard explains how God's power aids human understanding; on lines 124–31, 'aras' ('altars') are described as the virtues of the soul on which duties, prayers, and good works are sacrificed to God, who especially loves people like Paul whom he has drawn away from temporal distractions; and at lines 212–15 on 'aena' ('bronzes'), Bernard references six different Biblical verses to show that water stands for wisdom.[76] Yet explicit references to Christianity are relatively sparse, references to pagan religion are often allegorized without reference to specifically Christian practices, and the commentary to book 6 breaks off before Aeneas actually reaches Anchises. Many opportunities to Christianize the poem are taken, but many more are missed, which accords with Bernard's belief, shared by most other people of his day, that while parts of the arts curriculum like the study of poetry could prepare the students for their spiritual education, theology was necessary for them actually to attain it.

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[74] The Latin text may be found in Fulgentius, '*Expositio Virgilianae continentiae*', with the direct quotations on pp. 86 and 89. English translations are from 'The Exposition of the Content of Virgil', pp. 121 and 123. References to the *Exposition* are to section number. A good discussion of Fulgentius's commentary may be found in Emily Albu, 'Disarming Aeneas: Fulgentius on *Arms and the Man*', in *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, eds Noel Lenski and Andrew Cain (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 21–30.

[75] The Latin text may be found in *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Vergil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, eds Elizabeth F. and Julian Ward Jones (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), with English translations in Bernardus Silvestris, *Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's Aeneid*, trans. Earl G. Schreiber and Thomas E. Maresca (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). References in this paragraph are to Virgilian line numbers. J. Reginald O'Donnell, 'The Sources and Meaning of Bernard Silvester's Commentary on the *Aeneid*', *Mediaeval Studies* 24 (1962): 233–49, offers a good summary of the contents and the basic issues involved in interpreting them. Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972) is the standard study of Bernard and his general world view.

As we saw with the illustrated manuscripts, the interaction between Virgil and Christian religious books flows both ways. About the same time as Bernard was writing his commentary on the *Aeneid*, for example, classical texts began to be mined in England as sources for moral *exempla* that were to be inserted into Biblical commentaries and sermons. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was the most common source for these *exempla*, but Nicolas Trevet (d.1283) devoted considerable attention to Virgil's *Eclogues* from this perspective. London, British Library, Additional 27304 is a good example of a manuscript that has been read in this way. On *Aen.* 1.41, for example, the reader associates Athena's vengeance on the Greek fleet for Ajax's rape of Cassandra with Adam and the death of many because of one man's actions. Jupiter's prophecy regarding the peace of Augustus and the binding of Furor (*Aen.* 1.291–6) is equated to the binding of Satan, with Jupiter as God and Christ as Augustus and the bringer of the new dispensation. Later, when Dido prays at the banquet that she might be brought joy (*Aen.* 1.731–3), the reader notes that God can make the

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[76] The ideas developed here had a long afterlife; see Don Cameron Allen, 'Undermeanings in Virgil's *Aeneid*', in *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), pp. 135–62.

Christian joyful. And here, the entire Virgilian underworld is Christianized, with Palinurus being seen as placed in purgatory (on *Aen.* 6.364), Anchises's prophecy about Caesar being referred to Christ (on *Aen.* 6.781 and 793), and so forth.[77] When a preacher needed an example for a sermon, it was easy to go back to a passage that educated readers would recall from their school days and add the classical reference to Biblical parallels.

Interpretations like these, which include the exemplary readings as a slight extension of teaching from the classroom to the pulpit, link Virgil's works to Christian truth on the level of content. Another way to do this is with the cento, a pastiche formed by taking verses and partial verses from one poem and rearranging them into a new one. Within the first generations of the Christian era, several Virgilian centos were composed: the *Versus ad gratiam Domini* of Pomponius (322–70), a dialogue on Christian doctrine that includes verses from all three Virgilian poems within the framework of a recast *Eclogue* 1; the *De ecclesia* of Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius (late fifth century to early sixth century), 110 Virgilian hexameters on the church; and the anonymous *De verbi incarnatione*, a church service (including a sermon) in the words of Virgil.[78] The most famous Virgilian cento is the *Cento Vergilianus de laudibus Christi*, traditionally ascribed to Faltonia Betitia Proba (late fourth century).[79] This poem was produced for the schools, in an effort to retain Virgilian verse as a model for grammatical instruction, but to recast it into a story of creation and the life of Christ that would provide unambiguous instruction in how to live a life on earth that would lead to eternal salvation.[80] A key passage in this reworking is the account of the Crucifixion, which shows how Proba's cento functions:

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[77] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, pp. 48–9, 119, and 138; see also Jacques Berlioz, 'Virgile dans la littérature', pp. 65–120. The classic study of these moralizing preachers is Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960).

[78] Ziolkowski and Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition*, p. 475.

[79] The authorship of the *Cento Vergilianus* has been discussed thoroughly by Danuta Schanzer, 'The Date and Identity of the Centonist Proba', *Recherches augustiniennes* 27 (1994): 75–96, who makes the case for the granddaughter of Faltonia Betitia Proba, Anicia Faltonia Proba, as the author of the poem.

[80] Clark and Hatch, *The Golden Bough*, pp. 7, 100; and Roger Green, 'Proba's Cento: Its Date, Purpose, and Reception', *Classical Journal* 45 (1995): 551–63.

> Sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem,
> cum subito acciri omnes, populusque patresque,
> exposcunt farique iubent, quo sanguine cretus
> quidve petat quidve ipse ferat. Praeclara tuentis (610)
> facta viri mixtus dolor et stupor urguet inertis—
> nescia mens hominum—certantque inludere capto.
> tum vero raptis concurrunt undique telis.

(The molten sun had climbed the sky to noon when all at once the elders and the people demanded that he be fetched and they ordered him to speak: What is his lineage? [610] What is his intent? What does he have to offer them? Resentment mixed with apathy urged on the idle men who watched his famous deeds—man's mind is ignorant—and they vied among themselves to mock their captive. Then in fact, grabbing weapons from everywhere, they rushed him.)

Correspondences:
Line 607 = *Aen.* 8.97
608 = *Aen.* 1.509 (1.535, 3.950), *Aen.* 9.192
609 = *Aen.* 9.193 / *Aen.* 11.240, *Aen.* 2.74 (3.608)
610 = *Aen.* 10.150, *Aen.* 10.397
611 = *Aen.* 10.398, *Georg.* 3.523
612 = *Aen.* 10.501, *Aen.* 2.64
613 = *Aen.* 7.519, *Aen.* 7.520[81]

How the Virgilian lines were recast is clear from this passage, but as Elizabeth A. Clark and Diane F. Hatch have pointed out, Proba goes beyond mechanical cutting and pasting to adapt Virgilian lines to Christian ideas that are similar to them. The Christian values Proba recommends are the traditional Roman ones of respect for parents and relatives, coupled with the importance of home and marital chastity. Virgil's interest in nature gets swept up into Proba's account of Genesis, with source passages including Anchises's speech in the underworld, Silenus's song in *Eclogue* 6, and the origin of the world in *Georgics* 2. Christian problems with Eve and gender were reinforced in the *Cento Vergilianus* through the appropriation of negative examples of female behaviour from the *Aeneid,* especially Dido. Thematic correspondences like these support a key point in both the *Aeneid* and the *Cento Vergilianus*, that hope is born from disaster and suffering, an idea that made it relatively easy for Proba to proclaim the Gospel in the words of Virgil.[82]

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[81] The text, translation, and list of correspondences have been taken from Ziolkowsi and Putnam, eds, *The Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 479–80.

Proba's cento, which remained popular through the manuscript era into the age of printed books,[83] represents the most extreme way of stabilizing the meaning of Virgil's poetry by fusing it with Christianity in the long Middle Ages. Another form of cultural syncretism, as we have seen, is the effort to make Virgil into a Christian *avant le lettre*, a prophet of Christ who was inspired by the Holy Spirit to foretell things that would happen after his death. The surviving evidence suggests, however, that most readers of manuscripts of *Eclogue* 4 recognized the affinities between Virgil and the New Testament without attributing them to divine inspiration. The more usual approach to Virgil's poetry, as the manuscripts that carry it show, was to see it as a tool for learning the Latin language. The effort necessary to do this was justified not as an end in itself, but as a means to study the Bible, which was read in Latin translation. The schools incorporated the classical text into the Christian culture they served, more often directly, sometimes indirectly, so that as Virgil went to school, so to speak, he was baptized into that culture, along with Abraham, Peter, and Paul.

It is important at this point, however, to qualify these generalizations at least in part. For one thing, the scholastic emphasis on language at the most detailed level does not mean that no one during this period was interested in proceeding from syntax and style to an appreciation of Virgil's storyline. Among many others, Chaucer, Dante, and Petrarca responded to what Virgil said as well as how he said it, and there are a number of vernacular romances from the later

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[82] Clark and Hatch, *The Golden Bough*, pp. 109–21, 137–9, and 181. Ilona Oppelt, 'Der zürnende Christus im Cento der Proba', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 7 (1964): 106–16 explores further Proba's double allegiance to Virgil and the Bible, with a focus on her sometimes unorthodox presentation of Christ. See also Reinhard Herzog, *Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike*, Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der schönen Künste, 37 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1975), xlix–li and 3–51.

[83] Filippo Erminio, *Il centone di Proba e la poesia centonaria latina* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1909), pp. 63–70. A list of manuscripts can be found in 'Probae cento', in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 16,1: *Poetae Christiani minores*, ed. Carolus Schenkl (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1888), pp. 517–30. Kallendorf, *Bibliography*, pp. 307–19 lists more than fifty printed editions of Proba's cento before that of Schenkl. The cento is often discussed as some sort of aberration of late antique and early medieval culture, but it is worth noting that a substantial number of Virgilian centos were written, published, and read during the printed book era as well; see Kallendorf, *Bibliography*, pp. 307–19.

Middle Ages that represent an imaginative recreation of the *Aeneid* for a larger audience that was more or less completely unmoored from the schools.[84] The point I would like to stress here is that the pedagogical approach that linked Virgil's text to the Christian culture of the age is the broad foundation on which these other appropriations take place. The reception of Virgil's poetry in later periods, including the long Middle Ages, has been studied extensively on the intertextual level; my goal has been to add a material dimension to what other scholars have done.

I should also stress that, while the manuscript evidence links Virgil to Christianity in a variety of ways, ranging from iconography to *explicits* dedicating a manuscript to God, I am not suggesting that everyone who read a manuscript of Virgil during this period was particularly pious. As Judson Allen so eloquently put it:

> The fact that the Middle Ages were Christian does not mean primarily that the average citizen of fourteenth-century London stole from his neighbor with any less success, nor cheated on his wife with any less relish, nor even found himself more often in a rapture of prayer than his twentieth-century counterpart—though he may in fact have done so. Primarily the Christian focus of medieval culture meant that people thought and talked about themselves and what they did in a language which included, as one of its major assumptions, the Incarnation. Thus when a medieval man worked, or feasted, or loved, or stole, or aspired to some great ideal, he did only what men have always done. But when he named his act, his language—that is, his assumptions about ultimate reality and the pattern of associations his culture had accumulated—brought what he had done into some sort of relationship to God.[85]

In other words, readers during the long Middle Ages generally viewed Virgil's poetry through the filter of Christianity because their culture was so deeply pervaded by religion that at some level they had no choice. This does not mean that such readers thought about nothing other than religion, or even that they necessarily knew more about their faith than a serious believer of today. It only means that, unlike today, religion was such a pervasive part of culture during the long Middle Ages that it would have been almost impossible to create a totally secular intellectual life, even if it had occurred to someone then to try.

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[84] A good orientation to Virgil's role in the *Divine Comedy* may be found in Robert Hollander, *Il Virgilio dantesco: tragedia nella 'Commedia'*, Biblioteca di lettere italiane, studi e testi, 28 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983); and Teodolinda Barolini, *Dante's Poets: Textuality and Truth in the 'Comedy'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). On Petrarca's use of Virgil, see Craig Kallendorf, 'Francesco Petrarca: Scipio, Aeneas, and the Epic of Praise', in *In Praise of Aeneas*, pp. 19–57. On Chaucer and the vernacular romances of the Aeneas story, see Baswell, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 168–269.

[85] Judson B. Allen, *The Friar as Critic* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), p. 3.

The manuscript evidence also suggests that as medieval readers brought Virgil's poetry 'into some sort of relationship to God', as Allen put it, there was greater complexity to this process than many later scholars have acknowledged. The prevailing assumption has been that of Domenico Comparetti, whose treatment still dominates discussion of the subject more than a century after it appeared, that medieval readers assimilated from Virgil only what was compatible with Christianity and ignored or suppressed what was not.[86] There is no question that this sometimes happened. B. L. Ullman, for example, has shown that when manuscript anthologies that included Virgil's poetry were prepared, verses that made reference to pagan gods were often omitted and Virgilian verses that seemed to oppose Christian doctrine were rewritten to make them conform to orthodox belief.[87] Christopher Baswell, however, has argued that instead of effacing cultural difference, the prevailing move in the all-pervasive pedagogical commentaries was to recognize the otherness of Virgil's world by identifying the various aspects of history, politics, myth, and culture that differentiated that world from the one inhabited by the teacher and his students.[88] Indeed, Jeffrey Schnapp has argued that even Proba's cento is ultimately left 'occupying the unstable middle zone between Scripture and the Virgilian corpus', summoning 'readers to shuttle back and forth between two worlds and two works'.[89] In some ways, the place of Virgil himself in Dante's *Divine Comedy* stands symbolically for his cultural position during the centuries under discussion here: well-known and honoured, to be sure, and absorbed into Christian culture, but held at arm's length outside the gates of Paradise, simultaneously an insider and an outsider to the Christian world.

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[86] Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 96–7.

[87] B. L. Ullman, 'Virgil in Certain Mediaeval Florilegia', in *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, pp. 59–66.

[88] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 41.

[89] J. Schnapp, 'Reading Lessons: Augustine, Proba, and the Christian Détournement of Antiquity', *Stanford Literary Review* 9 (1992): 123.

Coming to a reasonable assessment of Virgil's place in the manuscript culture of Christianity is complicated by the larger story of cultural development as it is generally told. Noticeable nuancing has been occurring in recent years, but the prevailing narrative about the relationship between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is still the one that eventually goes back to Petrarca, that the 'Middle Ages' were a barbarous period that stood between antiquity and people like him who were regaining the ability to see the classical past as it actually was, not through the deforming filters of scholastic culture.[90] Scholars like Comparetti, working some 500 years later, took this basic premise of Petrarca's well beyond what he would have accepted, into a pronounced anti-clericalism that saw the history of the Catholic church as 'a chronicle of obscenities' and Christianity in general as an all-consuming force that is opposed to everything earthly, such that medieval clerics were 'entirely unsympathetic' to Virgil and only the laity could revive a real interest in antiquity.[91] Few scholars today would express themselves quite like this—indeed, the larger problem at this point arises with those whose scholarly interests take them so completely in different directions that they simply avoid asking questions about Virgil's relationship to Christianity. The otherwise excellent *Virgil Encyclopedia*, for example, gives only five paragraphs out of its three extensive volumes to a consideration of Christianity, with those paragraphs focused on the church fathers.[92] To dare to speak of Christian exegeses of Virgil, as Guy Lobrichon notes, is 'a provocation'.[93]

Yet as we have seen, the manuscripts encourage us to do just this, and I think it would be a mistake not to follow their lead and consider the matter further. In one of the pioneering theorizations of reader-response criticism, Wolfgang Iser suggested that a work of literature is like an orchestra score. Just as different conductors pick up on different potentialities latent in the score and bring them to the surface in a performance, so different readers pick up on different things in a text and bring them out in their readings. And just as it is impossible to find a place outside the hermeneutic circle from which to settle on one performance as definitive, so each reading that remains based in a text will bring out something in the text that is there and worth responding to.[94] If indeed the twenty-first century is becoming increasingly post-Christian, as many commentators are claiming, then instead of seeing Christian exegeses of Virgil as a provocation, we might instead look at them as textual responses that become more valuable to us as they become increasingly inaudible. Some of these exegeses are at least potentially audible as dematerialized texts, but to hear and understand them fully, we need to encounter Virgil once again as the readers of his manuscripts did, in the physical form that remains firmly linked to the culture that produced it.

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[90] A full discussion of the issues at stake here may be found in Craig Kallendorf, 'Renaissance', in Kallendorf, *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*, pp. 30–43.

[91] Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, with the quotations on pp. 231 and 184, respectively. Comparetti's anticlericalism is discussed by the volume's editor, Jan Ziolkowski, on pp. xxvi–xxvii.

[92] E. J. Hutchinson, 'Christianity', in Richard F. Thomas and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds, *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, 3 vols (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2013), pp. 263–4.

[93] Lobrichon, 'Saint Virgile auxerrois', p. 375.

Finally, we should be sensitive to the irony that pervades the reception of Virgil's poetry in manuscript form. As we saw in Chapter 1, any sort of systematic effort to stabilize the text has to wait for the advent of print, but the effort to bring Virgil's poetry into line with Christianity, on the levels of both form and content, is clearly an effort to anchor its meaning into the eternal truth that provides the fundamental unity to medieval culture at the same time as it transcends that culture. Yet even here, an authoritative interpretation remained elusive. As the culture of antiquity receded further and further into the past, it took more and more effort to understand what the text was saying. The commentaries that were added to the manuscripts containing the text attempted to recover this meaning—the one Virgil had put there—but as generations of teachers added layers of comments to the same manuscript, their ability to do what they were trying to do appeared to become more and more problematic. As soon as one set of problems was resolved, another arose. If what Virgil had said parallels, or even adumbrates, the Bible, then the interpretation of his poetry would achieve the most stable foundation imaginable within the confines of medieval culture. Yet as we have seen in this chapter, medieval readers left in their manuscripts clear evidence that they could not in fact agree on precisely how this was the case. As the material evidence shows, neither the effort to recapture what Virgil had said, nor the effort to ground what he had said in the Changeless Eternal, could produce a Virgil for all times.

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[94] Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 3–85.

3

Printed Books I: Text

3.1. FROM MANUSCRIPT TO PRINTED BOOK

Somewhere near the middle of the fifteenth century, the traditional account has it that a German goldsmith, Johann Gutenberg (*c.*1398–1468), perfected one of the most important inventions of all time: a way to produce metal letters that could be made in moulds and put on a device similar to an agricultural screw press to mass produce copies of a single manuscript, then disassembled and reused again and again to print different books.[1] As is often the case, scholarship has challenged and nuanced parts of this traditional account. Pages had already been mass produced using carved wooden blocks, other inventors for the process have been proposed, and recently it has even been suggested with some plausibility that Gutenberg's letters were cast in a soft substance like sand, with punches not being used to create reusable moulds for another generation.[2]

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[1] The literature on Gutenberg, most of which is not directly relevant to the argument of this chapter, is vast. A good introduction may be found in Albert Kapr, *Johann Gutenberg: The Man and His Invention*, trans. Douglas Martin (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996) and at the website to the Gutenberg-Museum in Mainz, <http://www.gutenberg-museum.de/> (accessed 14 April 2014), while information on Gutenberg's most famous book may be found in Janet Ing, *Johann Gutenberg and His Bible: A Historical Study* (New York and London: Typophiles, 1988), with images now available through The Digital Gutenberg Project, <http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/exhibitions/permanent/gutenberg/project/> maintained by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at The University of Texas (accessed 14 April 2014).

[2] Paul Needham and Blaise Agüera y Arcas have examined how Gutenberg made his type in Blaise Agüera y Arcas, 'Temporary Matrices and Elemental Punches in Gutenberg's DK Type', in *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Kristian Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), pp. 1–12.

Whatever the details of the procedure may be, it is nevertheless clear that book making was revolutionized around this time.

It is worth noting, however, that the revolution was neither immediate nor definitive. Some people were quick to see the advantages offered by the new technology, but buyers like Federico da Montefeltro (1422–82) turned up their noses at the new printed books, so that booksellers like Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98) continued to make a good living selling manuscripts through the end of the fifteenth century.[3] By the sixteenth century publication via print had become the norm, but recent scholarship has shown that for some social groups, manuscripts remained the preferred way to disseminate their work long after the invention of printing.[4] Thus, while it is true that more texts circulated in the Middle Ages in manuscript form and more books in Renaissance Europe were printed, which justifies some of the generalizations that follow in this chapter, we should not forget that there are plenty of manuscripts that were copied in the Renaissance and that in some parts of Europe, the first printed books appeared in cultures that were still more medieval than early modern.

What is more, the boundary between handwritten manuscripts and early printed books is more permeable than is often claimed. Scholars like Elizabeth Eisenstein have stressed the transformative nature of Gutenberg's invention,[5] but Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin have reminded us that 'the earliest incunabula looked exactly like manuscripts. The first printers, far from being innovators, took extreme care to produce exact imitations.'[6] These incunabula

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[3] Notwithstanding Vespasiano's boast that a printed book would have been ashamed to be seen in the company of Federico's beautiful manuscripts, his library contained fifty-one printed books as well, as Martin Davies shows in 'Non ve n'è ignuno a stampa: The Printed Books of Federico da Montefeltro', in *Federico da Montefeltro and His Library*, edited by Marcello Simonetta (Milan: Y Press, 2007), pp. 63–78, with the statement by Vespasiano quoted on p. 63. This book is the catalogue to an exhibition held at the Morgan Library and Museum from 8 June to 30 September 2007, then at the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino from 27 October to 15 January 2008.

[4] See, for example, Margaret J. M. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); and Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

[5] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, esp. vol. 1, pp. 3–42.

[6] Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 77. Other scholars who have stressed the continuities between manuscripts and printed books include Curt Bühler, *The Fifteenth-Century Book: The Scribes, the Printers, the Decorators* (Philadelphia:

(books printed before 1501) looked as much as possible like manuscripts because that was what people were used to, and for the first couple of generations printed books were often finished by hand, with paragraphs marked off in red ink and pictures painted by the same miniaturists who worked on manuscripts.[7] The authors of an otherwise exemplary study of the medieval book have claimed that 'with the growth of print as the normal medium of the page, the main medieval vehicle for relating new thought to inherited tradition disappears—namely, the gloss and the practice of glossing . . . The printed book is not itself an object in which one writes long glosses.'[8] But as anyone who has examined a large number of early printed books knows, this is simply not true[9]—a point to which I shall return in a little while.

These qualifications are important, but they should not obscure the fact that a Renaissance printed book is something different from a medieval manuscript in several fundamental ways. The most important one is that there are simply a lot more of one than of the other.

University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960); Lotte Hellinga and Helmar Härtel, eds, *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert/Book and Text in the Fifteenth Century*, Proceedings of a Conference held in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, 1–3 March 1978, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 2 (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981); J. B. Trapp, ed., *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing*, Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at the Warburg Institute on 12–13 March 1982 (London: The Warburg Institute, 1983); and Sandra Hindman, 'Introduction', in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520,* edited by Sandra Hindman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 1–2 and notes 2–3.

[7] For Virgilian examples, see Emma T. K. Guest, 'Virgil in Venice, 1470–1507: Illuminated Books from the Junius Spencer Morgan Collection', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 69/1 (2007): 79–84; and Kallendorf, *Catalogue*, pp. 21–51.

[8] Richard and Mary Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), p. 465.

[9] Bernard Rosenthal, *The Rosenthal Collection of Printed Books with Manuscript Annotations: A Catalog of 242 Editions Mostly before 1600 Annotated by Contemporary or Near-Contemporary Readers* (New Haven, CT: The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 1997) describes one collection of early annotated books, while Robin Alston's *Books with Manuscript: A Short Title Catalogue of Books with Manuscript Notes in the British Library* (London: The British Library, 1994) offers access to the considerable number of glossed books there. Three exhibition catalogues confirm a growing interest in this area: John Considine, ed., *Adversaria: Sixteenth-Century Books and the Traces of Their Readers* (Edmonton, Alberta: Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, 1998); Sabrina Alcorn Baron, with Elizabeth Walsh and Susan Scola, eds, *The Reader Revealed* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001); and Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory, 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005).

This is obvious, but what is far from obvious is how much greater that difference is. It would seem that in the computer age, one can find out how many copies of Virgil were printed in the Renaissance with a keystroke or two, but until very recently no satisfactory answer to this question has been available. There are good Internet resources available, but they are all still works in progress. COPAC, for example, gives us information about books in the United Kingdom and Ireland, and the Catalogue collectif de France covers France, but material is being added every day to databases like these. OPAC SBN covers Italian books, but many of the larger libraries have not reported their holdings yet, and the Universal Short Title Catalogue is just now offering real results. A specialized census of Virgilian editions published through the middle of the nineteenth century has been in print for sixty years, but it was prepared under unusually difficult conditions and is known to be both inaccurate and incomplete.[10]

The recent publication of my *A Bibliography of the Early Printed Editions of Virgil, 1469–1850* gives us considerably more to work with. This new bibliography records about three times as many editions as the older specialized census, with 1,481 of them printed between 1469 and 1600 and another 894 appearing during the seventeenth century. A more difficult question involves how many copies of each edition there are, and were. These in fact are two different questions, since in almost every case only a small fraction of each print run survives. Large folio editions were expensive in their own time and are more likely to survive in quantity than small octavos, and there are often more recorded copies today of books by famous printers like Aldo Manuzio (1449–1515) than by printers toiling away in provincial obscurity. Survival rates for all of these old editions, however, are often shockingly low. Books succumb to fire and flood all the time, but there have also been a depressing number of instances over the last 500 years when deliberate destruction accompanied natural disasters: it has been estimated that in Germany, for example, the ravages of war during the last century have destroyed an estimated ten million books, one-fourth to one-third of the country's total.[11] Around

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[10] Giuliano Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni virgiliane*, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 27 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1954).

[11] Lucien X. Polastron, *Books on Fire: The Destruction of Libraries throughout History*, trans. Jon E. Graham (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2007), p. 176, provides the statistics on Germany. Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French before 1601', *The Library* ser. 7, 10.2 (2009): 189–205, estimates that over

10 per cent of the sixteenth-century books in a private Virgil collection I have been working with are apparently unique copies, and for another 10 per cent there is only one other copy in institutional hands. Statistics generated by the Universal Short Title Catalogue suggest an average of five surviving copies for each early edition from this period, which seems reasonable to me.[12] So that would give us a little under 12,000 copies of Virgil printed in or before 1700 that have survived into modern times.

But the original total must have been much higher. It is difficult to generalize about the size of early press runs, but 300 seems to have been common for books printed through the end of the fifteenth century. Numbers rose to 1,000–1,500 during the sixteenth century, with some famous printers like the Plantins doing press runs of as many as 2,500 copies.[13] A reasonable average would be, say, 750 copies per edition. If we multiply this number times the number of editions, we get 1,781,250 copies of Virgil floating around in Renaissance Europe. As we saw in Chapter 2, manuscripts of Virgil are counted in the hundreds, not the hundreds of thousands, so this is an enormous change.

More interesting, and more important as well, is how these early editions were used. This is the question that will occupy us for the remainder of this chapter.

3.2. FORMAT

Anyone who has looked at books from the hand-press era knows that they come in three basic formats—folio, quarto, and octavo—depending on what size paper was used and how this paper was folded. What the handbooks tell us is that different formats were used for different purposes. Large folios contained texts from fields

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30 per cent of the sixteenth-century vernacular French books originally published do not survive at all.

[12] This average was generated using information on the home page for the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>, a project directed by Andrew Pettegree and hosted by the University of St Andrews (accessed 14 April 2014).

[13] Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, pp. 216–22, 'Some Basic Data: Size of Editions'.

like law and theology that required extensive commentary to surround the text; they were sold to professionals in these fields. Literary texts often came out in quarto format: we have all heard of Shakespeare's first folio, but in fact his plays were first issued in quartos and, as movies like *Anonymous* remind us, reprinting them in folio meant that they shifted status, entering the canon of literary works that merited serious study. Octavos were pocket books, literally—prayer books that could be carried about and consulted in free moments.[14]

Virgil plays an interesting role in all this, but not precisely in the way the handbooks suggest. For one thing, Renaissance editions of Virgil come in all three formats.[15] There are comparatively few quartos, and a disproportionate number of them are translations, often of a book or two rather than an entire work. This suggests that sometimes at least Virgil was read for pleasure, like Ariosto or Spenser. There are a good many folio editions, in which a few lines of Virgil's text are surrounded by an entire large page containing as many as a dozen commentaries to that text. This confirms that Virgil's poetry was the object of serious study, like a law or theology book, with these texts, we are told, being marketed to the teachers who used them as the basis for their line-by-line explication in the classroom. Interestingly, the first non-religious book to be printed in octavo format was the famous 1501 Aldine Virgil. Older scholarship credited Aldo Manuzio with launching some sort of paperback revolution here, but booksellers' inventories confirm that in fact, Aldine editions were by no means inexpensive. The late Martin Lowry argued instead that these books were revolutionary, but in a different way: they were marketed to 'busy men of affairs . . . , secular intellectuals' who could use the new, compact Virgil to "snatch a few minutes" relaxation during a busy day at court'. By printing smaller books in a new typeface, italic, 'Aldus was freeing literature from the study and the lecture-room'.[16]

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[14] Good descriptions of the three formats may be found in Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, St Paul's Bibliographies, 15 (Winchester: St Paul's, 1986; reprint of Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949 edn), pp. 193–6, with basic information on how books in each format were used in the early days of printing to be found in Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, pp. 88–90.

[15] Some idea of how many early editions were published in each format, and where they appeared, can be found in Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*. Some of the information in this section is treated at greater length, in a different context, in Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice*, pp. 45–9.

What is more, Aldine editions, notwithstanding their small size, turn out to have been particularly popular among teachers who wanted a good text in which they could enter their own commentary. The Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, for example, still preserves two Aldine Virgils that had been owned by teachers, one containing three dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century but no name, the other signed and dated 1536 by a Master Caspar B, teacher at the Royal College of St Thomas in Leipzig.[17] The copy of Virgil owned by Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), now in the New York Public Library, was also an Aldine.[18] To be sure, copies of these editions were undoubtedly sold to Lowry's 'busy men of affairs', who must indeed have used them to while away odd moments at court. However, as we shall see, the taste for Latin poetry was shaped during the school experiences of such men, so that even in cases like this it strikes me as something of an oversimplification to say that 'Aldus was freeing literature from the study and the lecture-room'.

We must also be careful not to oversimplify the situation with respect to large folio editions. Lowry notes that 'the scholar was expected to deploy a large folio on his study lectern',[19] which is certainly true enough. However, the implication is that such a book contains far more than anyone else would need to know. Yet Venetian schoolboys regularly walked through the *calli* of their city carrying a satchel full of books like this, as the notices entered into folio volumes by their student owners attest. A copy of the first edition of Virgil, for example, contains an extensive handwritten commentary with an ownership note in somewhat tentative Latin that reads 'this book belongs to me, Bartolomaeus Ghellinus de Nolilisbus of Vicenza, [who] remains or dwells in Vicenza as a student of Lodovicus Roneonus, the public teacher', and a copy of the 1476 Antonio Miscomini (active 1481–96) edition contains marginal and interlinear notes interspersed with 'non audivi' ('I did not hear [this lesson]'), markers indicating that a section of commentary is missing because the student was absent from class.[20] The crude pictures of bells, faces, and abstract designs entered into the beginning of a copy of the *c.*1492 Liga Boaria (active end of the fifteenth century) edition now in the Biblioteca Comunale, Treviso suggests that this incunable probably belonged to a student as well.[21]

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[16] Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 143, 147. Armando Petrucci makes this same point, noting that the small *libretto da mano* was tied to a new way of reading that moved books out of places where they were used for obligatory study to places where they could be taken up by choice ('Typologie du livre et de la lecture dans l'Italie de la Renaissance: de Petrarque à Politien', in *From Script to Book: A Symposium*, Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium organized by the Centre for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages, held at Odense University on 15–16 November 1982, edited by Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Marianne Borch, and Bengt Sorensen Algot (Odense: Odense University Press, 1986), pp. 135–8; and Armando Petrucci, 'Alle origine del libro moderno: libro da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969): 306–8).

[17] These two books are copies of the corrected '1514' edition, actually published several years later, LW1518/19–1524.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 10, Marciana shelf mark: Aldine 628, and the 1505 edition, LW1505.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 7, Marciana shelf mark: Aldine 687, respectively.

[18] LW1541.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 15, New York Public Library shelf mark: * KB 1541.

[19] Lowry, *The World*, p. 143.

Two points, I believe, emerge from this discussion. First, physical attributes like format matter, but it is more difficult to generalize about precisely how and why they matter than one might expect. Second, both printed text and handwritten additions anchor these books, like the majority of Virgilian manuscripts, firmly in the institutional environment of the schools. While we may be surprised to see teachers using octavos and students using folios, ownership notes confirm that books of both formats were used in schools, a point which the prefaces and dedications often confirm. The 1501 Aldine, for example, is addressed to 'studiosis omnibus' ('all students'), while the commentary of Johannes a Meyen (active end of the sixteenth century) that appeared in Aldine editions at the end of the century is more specifically targeted towards 'studiosis adolescentibus' ('youthful students').[22] Similarly the colophon of the 1512 Giorgio Arrivabene (active 1483–1520) edition identifies the audience of this edition as 'iuventus optima' ('good youth'),[23] while the colophon of the 1522 Gregorio de Gregori (active 1480–1528) and Lucantonio Giunta (active 1489–1538) version offers this book to 'eminentissimi bonarum litterarum candidati' ('distinguished candidates in the humanities').[24]

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[20] The two books are a copy of the 1470 edition printed by Wendelin of Speyer, LW1470.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 1, now in the Biblioteca Bertoliana in Vicenza, shelf mark: RN 1.V.144, and a copy of the 1476 edition printed by Antonio Miscomini, LW1476.3 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 2, now in the Biblioteca Civica in Verona, shelf mark: Incunaboli 856, with the notes indicating absences on ff. m7v, m8r, and m8v.

[21] LW1492?.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 4, shelf mark: Inc. 13716, f. iv.

[22] As an example, see the edition printed by Aldo Manuzio the Younger, LW1576.2 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 25, with the phrase found on f. +3v.

Here book history and the history of education reinforce one another, for as Françoise Waquet has shown, Virgil occupied a prominent place in the schools throughout Renaissance Europe, when teachers devoted most of their time training the elites to read and speak Latin. Schooling in Brunswick, indeed throughout Lutheran Germany, centred on Virgil, Cicero, and Terence, while syllabuses from Holland and the Principality of Liège in the sixteenth century gave more time only to Cicero.[25] As Paul Grendler has shown, Virgil occupied pride of place in the late sixteenth-century Venetian curriculum as well,[26] while in France during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the *Eclogues* or *Georgics* were regularly read by younger students, with the *Aeneid* being reserved for more mature learners. I would certainly not want to argue that the only place Virgil was read in Renaissance Europe was in school: obviously anyone who wanted to take advantage of the growing number of books introduced by printing could get a copy, in Latin if he (and sometimes she) were well educated, in the vernacular if not. But even if the books in which Renaissance Europe encountered Virgil were not restricted exclusively to the school environment, that is where they were centred, so it makes sense to focus our attention there.

3.3. FROM MARGINALIA TO THE COMMONPLACE BOOK

It is one thing to anchor the early printed editions of Virgil in the school environment, but quite another to understand how they were used there. This brings us to the question of how Renaissance readers read, and for what purposes. Our instinct is to assume that they read in the same way we do. If we think about it, however, we might begin to wonder about this, even before we look at the evidence. As we shall see in Chapter 5, reading practices have changed radically just in the last twenty years: many people now read hundreds, even thousands, of text messages each month, but little if anything that exceeds one paragraph in length. If this can happen in one generation, similar changes may well have happened in the past. I would therefore like to turn to the surviving evidence to see whether in fact Renaissance readers read Virgil as we do, or not.

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[23] LW1512.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 8, with the phrase repeated at Pt. 1, f. 168r and Pt. 2, f. AA1r.

[24] LW1522.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 10, with the phrase at Pt. 3, f. 43v.

[25] Françoise Waquet, *Latin, or the Empire of a Sign*, trans. John Howe (London and New York: Verso, 2001), p. 33.

[26] Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 236–50 and *passim*.

Fortunately there is a good deal of evidence to work with, for Renaissance readers regularly wrote in their books: as William Sherman notes, more than 20 per cent of the so-called STC collection at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California contain notes of some sort,[27] a percentage that is more or less in line with what I have observed elsewhere. Until not so long ago, it was regular practice to try to remove these notes, to try to make the book look once again as it did when it was new. For a generation now, however, scholars have been devoting greater attention to the marginal notes in early printed books, as the best evidence we have for how these books were actually read in the past.[28] The handwritten notes left by early readers are an important part of the material form of early printed books, providing both tangible clues to how one reader responded to a particular book and offering in turn a part of the material environment that helped shape how the same book would be consumed by later readers. In the remainder of this chapter, I shall use these notes first to help recover a distinctively Renaissance way of reading Virgil, then to begin drawing out some of the implications of a reading practice that was inextricably bound to the early printed editions of the day and how they were used in the schools.

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[27] William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. xii.

[28] A useful orientation might begin with the following items: Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); Kristian Jensen, *Rhetorical Philosophy and Rhetorical Grammar: Julius Caesar Scaliger's Theory of Language,* Humanistische Bibliothek, Texte und Abhandlungen, Reihe 1, Abhandlungen, 46 (Munich: Fink, 1990); Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*, Penn State Series in the History of the Book, 1 (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp. 75–80; William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); James A. Riddell and Stanley Stewart, *Jonson's Spenser: Evidence and Historical Criticism*, Duquesne Studies, Language and Literature Series, 18 (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1995); Anthony Grafton, 'Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise? Guillaume Budé and His Books', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 91 (1997): 139–57; Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers*, Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures, 20 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); M. A. Screech, *Montaigne's Annotated Copy of Lucretius: A Transcription and Study of the Manuscript, Notes and Pen-Marks* (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1998); Luisa López Grigera, *Anotaciones de Quevedo a la*

Let us plunge *in medias res*. In the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice is a copy of the 1518/19–24 Virgil printed by the heirs of Aldo Manuzio and Andrea Torresano (active 1479–1529) with extensive annotations. The annotator was an Italian schoolteacher who worked through the entire book and made a list of 'loca lectorem pium commoventia' ('passages moving a pious reader') which he put on to four additional folios and had bound at the back of the book.[29] The handwritten list was keyed to the printed book and indicated where the passages began and ended. Among the fifty passages singled out for attention by the 'pius lector', the reader who was cultivating the virtue for which Aeneas was known, are Aeneas's famous exhortation to his weary troops at *Aen.* 1.198ff., the punishment of the Great Sinners along with Phlegyas's injunction to learn justice and honour the gods (*Aen.* 6.601–25), and the epic simile containing the famous description of the chaste widow (*Aen.* 8.407–16). In many cases we can only speculate on what the desired lesson was, but at times the marginal annotations left by the unknown schoolmaster tell us what he was

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Retórica de Aristóteles (Salamanca: Gráficas Cervantes, 1998); Craig Kallendorf and Hilaire Kallendorf, 'Conversations with the Dead: Quevedo and Statius, Annotation and Imitation', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000): 131–68; Edoardo Barbieri, ed., *Nel mondo delle postille: i libri a stampa con note manoscritte, una raccolta di studi* (Milan: Edizioni CUSL, 2002); Owen Gingerich, *The Book Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (London: Arrow, 2004); Heide Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 137–95; and Sherman, *Used Books*.

[29] The annotator of the book, which is LW1518/19–1524 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 11 and whose Marciana shelf mark is Aldine 628, never identifies himself, but his approach is typical of the schools and he leaves occasional notes in Italian to accompany the Latin marginalia. This book and its annotations are discussed in more detail in my *Virgil and the Myth of Venice*, pp. 58–61, with the list of passages transcribed on pp. 222–4. References to the Aldine marginalia will be placed in the text.

thinking. At *Aen.* 7.203–4 (f. 137v), he wrote 'bonorum et malorum differentia' ('difference between good and evil things'), while on *Aen.* 8.387ff. we find 'dolus foemineus' ('female guile'), countered by 'nota tu vidua casta' ('take note, you chaste widow') shortly afterward (*Aen.* 8.408ff., f. 154v). Similarly 'nota tu peccator' ('take note, you sinner'; *Aen.* 8.668–9) is followed immediately by 'nota tu pie' ('take note, you pious one'; *Aen.* 8.670, f. 159r). Here we see a reader identifying passages that provide guidance in how to conduct one's life, marking them off and adding 'indexing notes' that show why the passages are important.

A similar point can be made through reference to an annotated book from a private collection of early printed editions of Virgil with which I have been working. The volume in question is a 1567 Frankfurt octavo edition which contains brief comments in the margin along with handwritten notes alongside them.[30] The first thing we notice is that the anonymous early reader has underlined a good number of passages. At the beginning of *Aeneid* 5, for example, he has marked off 'superat quoniam fortuna, sequamur / Quoque vocat, vertamus iter' (''Tis Fate diverts our Course; and Fate we must obey'; 5.22–3; f. 114v, p. 378), and a little farther on he has underlined 'Tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens' ('Cry'd out for Anger, and his Hair he tore'; 5.172; f. 117r, p. 384). A little later, 'Extremos pudeat rediisse, hoc vincite cives, / Et prohibete nefas' ('But to be last, the Lags of all the Race, / redeem your selves and me from that Disgrace'; 5.196–7; f. 117v, p. 385) is marked off, followed quickly by 'Arridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis' ('The Sea beneath 'em sinks; their lab'ring sides / are swell'd, and Sweat runs gutt'ring down in Tides'; 5.200; f. 117v, p. 385). The obvious question is: Why is this reader underlining these passages and not others? The printed marginal notes suggest an answer. Next to the first passage, the note reads 'Non esse pugnandum cum fortuna' ('one must not fight with fortune'), while the note after the second underlined passage reads 'Ardor iuvenilis & ira' ('youthful ardor and anger') and the one after the last passage reads 'Proverbialis versus' ('a proverbial verse'). In other words, one category of passages underlined by this reader includes those that offer advice on which actions to take and which ones to avoid, as in the Marciana Aldine, here expressed in an aphoristic way.

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[30] The book, which is LW1567.3 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 23, was published by Georg Rab the Elder, the heirs of W. Han, and S. Feyerabend and is very rare, with one copy in institutional hands, unfortunately damaged by a fire in 1959, at the Ratsbücherei in Lüneburg and another at the Bibliothèque humaniste de Sélestat. References to the copy in the private collection will be placed in the text. English translations in this chapter will be from the most influential early modern version, that of John Dryden (1631–1700), taken from *The Works of Virgil* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1697), which is EW1697.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 149; references will be placed in the text, following the references to the Latin quotations.

Many of the remaining underlined passages fall into a second category. A little later in Book 5, Mnestheus's ship is described at the ship race in the games following Anchises' death, where the captain:

> prona petit maria, & pelago decurrit aperto.
> Qualis spelunca subito commota columba,
> cui domus, & dulces latebrosa in pumice nidi,
> fertur in arva volans, plausumque exterrita pennis
> dat tecto ingentem: mox aere lapsa quieto
> radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas. (5.212–17; f. 217v)
>
> ([has them] ply their Oars, and cut their liquid way;
> in larger Compass on the roomy Sea.
> As when the Dove her Rocky Hold forsakes,
> rowz'd in a Fright, her sounding Wings she shakes,
> the Cavern rings with clatt'ring; out she flies,
> and leaves her Callow Cave, and cleaves the Skies;
> at first she flutters; but at length she springs,
> to smoother flight, and shoots upon her Wings.) (p. 385)

Next to the passage is the reason why it was underlined: 'comparatio' ('simile'), which is also written next to the comparison of Sergestus's ship to a wounded snake in *Aen.* 5.273–80 (f. 118v). The anonymous early reader continues the process, underlining figures of speech and adding their names in the margin in ink, as when he wrote 'comparatio' next to *Aen.* 5.588–91 (f. 124r), when the manoeuvres of the Trojan youth are compared in complexity to a Cretan labyrinth. One of his favourites was 'hypallage', in which a description is transferred from the word it should describe to another one. The reader underlined 'multa grandine nymbi / culminibus crepitant' ('A ratling Tempest, and a Hail of Blows'; 5.458–9; f. 122r, p. 395), then 'Tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus, / pro se quisque viri' ('Soon, all with Vigour bend their trusty Bows, / and from the Quiver each his Arrow chose'; 5.500–1; f. 122v, p. 397), marking 'hypallage' next to each.

Here the reader is selecting passages not for their moral content, but for their stylistic distinction.

A copy of the works of Virgil that was published in Frankfurt in 1616 records evidence of precisely the same reading practices in the marginal annotations of one Rector Hesse, a German schoolmaster.[31] Hesse marked parallel passages from a variety of ancient authors, some common like Seneca and Cicero, but others less so like Diodorus Siculus, Tibullus, Catullus, and Lucretius. He also provided variant readings and cross references to other Virgilian commentators, from Servius to Farnaby. But what interests us is his habit of underlining passages he wanted to be able to find again. In some cases his comments have a decidedly moral cast. Two underlined passages in Book 2, which recounts the fall of Troy, provide advice on what to do in hopeless situations: 'una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem' ('Despair of Life, the Means of living shows'; *Aen.* 2.354; p. 159, p. 298), and 'quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus' ('Ours take new Courage from Despair and Night'; *Aen.* 2.367; p. 160, p. 299). And there is the lesson to be drawn from seeing the Great Sinners in the underworld—'discite iustitiam moniti, & non temnere divos' ('Learn Righteousness, and dread th'avenging Deities'; *Aen.* 6.620; p. 383, p. 437)—signalled in the margin with an 'NB' ('nota bene', 'note well'). Other passages, however, are obviously underlined because they are phrased in a memorable way. *Aen.* 2.255, 'tacitae per amica silentia lunae' ('Safe under Covert of the silent Night'; p. 153, p. 294), carries the marginal reminder 'Nox quieta' ('a peaceful night'), and the marginal note 'Simile de subito pavore' ('simile concerning sudden fear'; p. 161) appears next to the comparison in *Aen.* 2.379–82. The passages underlined in Hesse's Virgil, in other words, illustrate moral topics (what to do in hopeless situations) or stylistic flourishes (a memorable simile), often with marginal annotations that serve as indexing notes to allow the reader to find them again and remember what they illustrate.

What is going on here is outlined clearly in the educational theory of the day, which contained instructions on how to teach students to read in the correct way. The *De ordine docendi et studendi* of Battista Guarino (1434–1513), for example, begins with a distinction between *methodice*, which has to do with how things are expressed, and *historice*, 'quae historias et res gestas pertractat' ('which gives a detailed treatment of historical knowledge and past achievements').[32] Students should 'qui in auctores commentaria scripserunt et probati sunt, eos ipsimet perlegant et radicitus, ut aiunt, sententias et vocabulorum vim annotent' ('study for themselves those who have commented on and approved the authors and mark "down to the roots", as they say, their maxims and the force of words'; pp. 294–5). When I was in school, I was told in no uncertain terms not to write in my books, but that is not what Battista Guarino urges:

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[31] *Opera omnia*, ed. Joannes a Meyen (Frankfurt: N. Hoffmann and J. Fischer, 1616), LW1616.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 36. This edition is surprisingly rare, with the copies at the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France being the only ones in institutional hands. I have not been able to identify Rector Hesse, whose comments appear in the margins of a copy of the book now in a private collection. References to this copy will be placed in the text.

> Explanationes quoque in libros scribere vehementer conducet . . . Hoc exercitationis genus mirifice acuit ingenium, linguam expolit, scribendi promptitudinem gignit, perfectam rerum noticiam inducit, memoriam confirmat, postremo studiosis quasi quondam expositionum cellam promptuariam et memoriae subsidium praestat . . . Sed omnino illud teneant, ut semper ex iis quae legunt conentur excerpere.
>
> (Writing glosses in books is also extremely profitable . . . This kind of exercise wonderfully sharpens the wit, polishes the tongue, produces fluency in writing, leads to precise factual knowledge, strengthens the memory, and finally, affords students a storeroom, as it were, of commentary and memory aids . . . They should hold fast to the practice of always making excerpts of what they read.) (pp. 294–5)

The notes we have seen in the early printed editions of Virgil are simply the tangible evidence of a way of reading in which glosses were prepared for passages that were considered noteworthy for either their style or their content.

This is not the way I read Virgil. To be sure, I note a well-turned phrase now and again, and those moralizing aphorisms do come in handy sometimes. But whether I am reading the text with my students, or thinking about a scholarly problem in Virgil's poetry, I tend to read for the 'big picture'. To understand what the simile of a flood means in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, I look for other symbols of unrestrained nature in the same book, then track them through the rest of the poem. And to understand what *pietas* is, I compare what Aeneas, who is pursuing it, does at the beginning of the poem to what he does in the middle, then at the end. Maxims and figures of speech are valuable, to be sure, but in context, as everyone today has been taught.

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[32] Battista Guarino, 'A Program of Teaching and Learning', in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, edited by Craig Kallendorf, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 5 (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 268–9. References to this treatise will be placed in the text.

Some readers in the Renaissance certainly worked all the way through the text—recall the Italian schoolmaster who left his notes in the Marciana Aldine. The prologue to the *Celestina* of Fernando de Rojas (*c.*1465/73–1541), for example, describes three ways of reading during this period, one of which involves an effort to grasp a text in its totality, to develop a plural reading that recognizes diversity of interpretation and adapts whatever lessons the book contains to individual needs. This, however, was not the norm. A second procedure involved focusing not on the story as a whole, but on certain detached episodes that were seen to have exemplary value. And the third one broke the text apart into a source for easily memorized maxims and ready-made expressions.[33] This third way of reading is the one that dominated the Renaissance consumption of Virgil.

Marking expressions that were memorable for either their style or content, however, was not the end of this interpretive process, but merely the beginning, for once these passages were underlined and tagged with an indexing note (e.g. 'comparatio' or 'ardor iuvenilis'), they were collected into the notebooks that readers were taught in school to maintain. These books were called 'commonplace books', with the passages being the commonplaces—gems of wisdom or stylistic felicity that could be used and reused, part of the common storehouse of cultural value. The indexing notes became the section headings, and the passages from Virgil were copied out below the appropriate word. Sometimes these notebooks were also printed, so that attention to early printed books shows us not only how Renaissance readers read, but also how they organized the results of their reading.

A good example of how this works is furnished by the *Osservationi . . . sopra l'opere di Virgilio* of Orazio Toscanella (*fl.* sixteenth century), a Venetian schoolmaster.[34] The book begins with a dedication to one Lorenzo Galupo, a noted Venetian physician. In this dedication, before launching into the fulsome flattery that the genre requires, Toscanella explains why he has written the book. Drawing on a *topos* that was common in early modern literary theory, Toscanella observes that poetry is divinely inspired and contains within it the wisdom of the world.[35] Homer and Virgil, he writes, 'insegnano il modo di edificar le città, et di conservarle, et di reggerle. Insegnano i costumi convenienti à ciascuna età; perche ottimamente il decoro di ciascuna persona osservano. Cantano delle leggi, delle fabriche, de gli instrumenti da guerra, delle parti del mondo, delle stelle; et di tutte l'altre cose, et scienze' ('teach how to build, preserve, and order cities. They teach the customs appropriate to each age of life, because they are the best observers of what is seemly for each person. They write of the laws, tools, and instruments of war, and of the parts of the world, of the stars, and of all other matters and disciplines'; f. *iii^{v}). Beginning, then, with the premise that everything one might want to know can be found in Virgil, Toscanella wrote his *Osservationi* to assist in finding it. The book is organized alphabetically, under headings like 'ammonitio'

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[33] The importance of this passage, which is taken from the 1507 Saragossa edition, is signalled by Roger Chartier in 'Texts, Printings, Readings', in *The New Cultural History*, edited by Lynn Hunt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1989), p. 155.

[34] The book, which was published in Venice by Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari in 1567, is Co1567.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 322. References to this book will be placed in the text. Toscanella has begun to attract a fair amount of scholarly attention.

Following Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari* (Rome: Presso i principali librai, 1890–7; reprinted Rome: Bibliopola Vivarelli e Gulla, 1963, and Mansfield, CT: Martino, 2000), 2:220–5, modern treatments of Toscanella's life and works include Amedeo Quondam, 'Dal "formulario" al "formulario": cento anni di libri di lettere', in *Le 'carte messaggere': retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare*, edited by Amedeo Quondam (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981), pp. 71ff.; Luciano Artese, 'Orazio Toscanella: un maestro del XVI secolo', *Annali dell'Istituto di filosofia dell'Università di Firenze* 5 (1983): 61–95; Luciano Artese, 'Orazio Toscanella: corrispondenza con il Granduca di Toscana e documenti inediti', in *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere, 'La Colombaria'* 48 (1983): 27–68; Lina Bolzoni, 'Le "parole depinte" di Orazio Toscanella', *Rivista di letteratura italiana* 1 (1983): 155–86; Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere: lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988), *passim*; Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 223–9; and Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, trans. Jeremy Parzen (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2001), esp. pp. 52–82. My thanks to Manfred Kraus for bibliographical assistance here. Several paragraphs in this chapter, including some of the Toscanella material, appeared in preliminary form in 'Virgil in the Renaissance Classroom: From Toscanella's *Osservationi . . . sopra l'opere di Virgilio* to the *Exercitationes rhetoricae*', in *The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom: The Role of Ancient Texts in the Arts Curriculum as Revealed by Surviving Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, edited by J. F. Ruys, J. Ward, and M. Heyworth, Disputatio, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 309–28.

[35] August Buck, *Italienische Dichtungslehre vom Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang der Renaissance* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1952), p. 72; Witt, 'Coluccio Salutati'; and Kallendorf, 'From Virgil to Vida'.

('rebuke') and 'amore' ('love'), 'natione' ('nation') and 'natura delle cose' ('nature of things'), 'amplificatione' ('amplification') and 'comparatione' ('comparison').

Let me use the first two of these headings to show what Toscanella is doing. 'Ammonitione' ('rebuke' or 'warning') is limited to one example: how to rebuke a young man who has done something good but also made a mistake. Toscanella instructs his reader first to praise the young man for the good he has done, because praising virtue makes it grow and because praise makes one more disposed to accept correction. Doing it the other way around (that is, beginning with the rebuke) hardens the heart and alienates it from the good, or at least makes the heart grow cold, he explains. Then comes the example, from *Aeneid* 9, where Apollo warns Ascanius not to put himself at such great risk in battle. First comes the praise:

> Macte nova virtute puer, sic itur ad astra,
> diis genite, & geniture deos. iure omnia bella
> gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident,
> nec te Troia capit. (*Aen.* 9.641–4)
>
> (Advance Illustrious Youth, increase in Fame,
> and wide from East to West extend thy Name.
> Offspring of Gods thy self; and Rome shall owe
> to thee, a Race of Demigods below.
> This is the Way to Heav'n: The Pow'rs Divine
> from this beginning date the Julian Line.
> To thee, to them, and their victorious Heirs,
> the conquer'd War is due; and the vast World is theirs.
> Troy is too narrow for thy Name.) (p. 540)

Then comes the rebuke: 'caetera parce puer bello' ('Now tempt the War no more'; *Aen.* 9.656; pp. 16–17; p. 540).[36]

The second example, 'amore' ('love'), shows how the longer entries work. Toscanella divides the topic into three subdivisions: how to get a person to love someone new, how to express the force of love, and how to show passionate love. For an example of passionate love, we might have expected Dido, but this seems to have struck Toscanella as too risky: instead we find Vulcan, sweet-talking Venus as he leaves her bed in the middle of the night to start working on Aeneas's armour in Book 8. What examples did Virgil use to express the force of love, the force that makes us spurn life itself? Again we might expect Dido, but again we do not get what we expect. Instead Toscanella gives us Aeneas, turning back to the burning city of Troy in pursuit of his lost wife Creusa, then Nisus, going to a certain death even though his lover Euryalus has already been killed—apparently the homoerotic undertones to this scene were considered less risky than dealing with Dido in a roomful of adolescents[37]—and finally Coroebus, the Trojan in Book 2 who hurled himself into the midst of his enemies out of his love for Cassandra. Finally, let us look briefly at the first subdivision: how to get a person to love someone or something new. Toscanella subdivides the first subdivision again, showing how Virgil made this happen through appeals to natural instinct, oracles, genealogy, reputation, or astrology (pp. 17–19). At first glance the procedure seems scholastic, and given that Toscanella lived and worked in Venice, whose humanism maintained a stronger Aristotelian flavour than some of the other Italian varieties, this may well be right. But Ciceronian rhetoric, which Toscanella also taught and wrote about, leads in the same direction.[38]

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[36] Praise and blame, the key elements of epideictic rhetoric, are especially important in epic, since epic and epideictic were thoroughly intertwined from antiquity through the Renaissance. On the Renaissance in general, see O. B. Hardison, Jr, *The Enduring Monument*; and Brian Vickers, 'Epideictic and Epic in the Renaissance', *New Literary History* 14 (1982–3): 497–537; on Virgil in particular, see Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas.*

Another example of a Virgilian commonplace book is *Virgilii . . . opera in locos communes digesta*—the text of Virgil, that is, reorganized into commonplaces, published in Tournon in 1597.[39] The work is anonymous, but a little bibliographical research reveals that it is attributed to Michel Coyssard, a Jesuit who lived from 1547 to 1623. Coyssard had expanded a shorter Virgilian commonplace book published in 1587 by F. Petit (*fl.* sixteenth century) to make this version, which in turn was expanded again into his *Thesaurus Virgilii in communes locos digestus*. The final version was published in 1683, so in one form or another this book stayed in print for almost a hundred years.

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[37] It is worth noting that the homoerotic overtones in this scene were potentially threatening, given the intimate relationship between master and pupil. The authorities in the Veneto, for example, were concerned that homosexual advances were often made to young boys in school settings, so that in 1477 a law directed that all instruction had to take place in groups gathered in public halls, not individually in private rooms (see Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 138). The intimacy between master and pupil was especially vulnerable to accusations of sodomy when education took place as private tutoring in a nobleman's household; see Alan Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[38] On Toscanella's teaching of Cicero, see Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 223–9.

[39] This book, Co1597.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 322, is discussed at length in my 'Commentaries, Commonplaces, and Neo-Latin Studies', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Uppsala 2009), edited by Astrid Steiner-Weber, 2 vols (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 1: 535–46. References to this book will be placed in the text.

This particular commonplace book collected examples from the realm of content, not style, although figures of speech and other well-turned expressions were often presented in the same way in other volumes. If we begin at the beginning, the section headings for the letter A show what kind of words struck Petit and Coyssard as important in this area: 'Achilles', 'admirari', 'Aeneas', 'aestas', 'aetas aurea', 'aetas ferrea', 'ager—arva—campus', 'agni', 'agricola', 'amare', 'amicus', 'amica', 'amicitia & amor', 'ambiguus—anceps' ('Achilles', 'wonder at', 'Aeneas', 'summer', 'golden age', 'iron age', 'field', 'lambs', 'farmer', 'love', '(male) friend', '(female) friend', 'friendship and love', 'uncertain'; pp. 1–25), and so forth. As one might expect, the passages selected for headings like 'amicitia & amor' ('friendship and love'; pp. 19–24) have heavy, obvious moral overtones: 'Me tamen urit amor, quis enim modus adsit amori?' ('Ah, cruel Heaven! that made no Cure for Love! / I wish for balmy Sleep, but wish in vain: / love has no bounds in Pleasure, or in Pain'; *Ecl.* 2.68, p. 51), 'Idem amor exitium est pecori pecorisque magistro' ('But Love that drains the Herd, destroys the Groom'; *Ecl.* 3.101, p. 58), 'Et vitula tu dignus, & hic: & quisquis amores / Aut metuet dulces, aut experietur amores' ('. . . both have won, or both deserv'd the Prize. / Rest equal both; and all who prove / the bitter Sweets, and pleasing Pains of Love'; *Ecl.* 3.109–10, p. 58), 'Coniugis indigno Nisae deceptus amore' ('While I my Nisa's perjur'd Faith deplore'; *Ecl.* 8.18; p. 78). Words like 'Agricola' ('farmer') might seem to lead the compiler in other directions, but this in fact is not the case:

> O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
> agricolas. quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
> fudit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus.
> si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
> mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam.
>
> (Oh happy, if he knew his happy State!
> The Swain, who, free from Business and Debate;
> receives his easie Food from Nature's Hand,
> and just Returns of cultivated Land!

> No Palace, with a lofty Gate, he wants,
> t'admit the Tydes of early Visitants. (*Georg.* 2.458–62; p. 15, p. 144)

'Aetas aurea' and 'aetas ferrea' ('golden age and iron age') offer a moral contrast: 'Illum non populi fasces, non purpura Regum / Flexit, & infidos agitans discordia fratres' ('Whose Mind, unmov'd, the Bribes of Courts can see; / their glitt'ring Baits, and Purple Slavery. / Nor hopes the People's Praise, nor fears their Frown, / nor, when contending Kindred tear the Crown, / will set up one, or pull another down'; *Georg.* 2.495–6; p. 11, p. 146) on the one hand, 'Deterior donec paulatim, ac decolor aetas, / Et belli rabies, & amor successit habendi' ('A more degenerate, and discolour'd Age, / succeeded this, with Avarice and Rage'; *Aen.* 8.326–7; p. 13, p. 497) on the other. Even names become moral markers, guides to correct and incorrect behaviour. Aeneas is introduced as 'Insignem pietate virum tot adire labores' ('so brave, so just a Man! / [Juno] involv'd his anxious Life in endless Cares'; *Aen.* 1.10; p. 5, p. 252), a vivid contrast to Achilles, 'Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros. / Exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles' ('Thrice round the Trojan Walls Achilles drew / the Corps of Hector, whom in Fight he slew. / Here Priam sues, and there, for Sums of Gold / the lifeless Body of his Son is sold'; *Aen.* 1.483–4; p. 1, p. 271). For almost 800 pages, the readers of this volume would find Virgilian guidance to how they should live their lives.

Organizing Virgilian passages under Renaissance headings, however, was still not the ultimate goal. People who kept commonplace books—students and those who continued the practices taught to them by their schoolmasters—had to write their own compositions afterwards, and the commonplace books served as sources. This part of Renaissance literary culture is a little harder to recapture than the first two parts of the process, but again the books printed during this period show clearly that Virgil's poetry was examined with an eye towards how it could teach his readers to write well themselves.

As an example, let us turn to another early edition of the works of Virgil, published in 1534 by the Lyonnaise printer Sébastien Gryphius (*c.*1493–1516).[40] Gryphius's edition contains the marginal *scholia* of

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[40] The references in the following paragraph, which will appear in the text, are to a copy found in a private collection of LW1534.1, in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 23. This book, which is unattested in secondary literature and apparently survives only in this copy, predates by a decade the second of a series of reprintings by Gryphius extending through 1560.

Philip Melanchthon, the *praeceptor Germaniae* whose work as 'Germany's teacher' extended to Rome's greatest epic poet.[41] At the beginning of Book 4, Melanchthon notes that 'in hoc libro plus est elegantiae, quam eruditionis' ('there is more elegance than learning in this book'; p. 192), alluding to the two main areas in which annotation was required. Melanchthon therefore draws attention to passages that are worth noting for style: at lines 151ff. he writes 'descriptio venationis' (p. 197), and at lines 522ff. he writes 'descriptio temporis' and 'nox silens' (p. 210), indicating that the descriptions of hunting and of the time and stillness of night, respectively, were worth remembering. He is more interested in content, however. Like Toscanella, whose rhetorical works drew from the teaching of Melanchthon, Agricola, and Sturm, Melanchthon observes that 'vim enim amoris in persona Didonis graphice depingit, et ratio variorum affectuum in hoc libro docetur' ('for he graphically depicts the force of love in the person of Dido, and the explanation for various emotions is taught in this book'; p. 192). And again like Toscanella, some of Melanchthon's comments are simple moralizing: next to *Aen.* 4.86–9, which describes how the work on the defences of Carthage is suspended when Dido falls in love with Aeneas, Melanchthon writes, 'negligentes reddit amor' ('love renders people negligent'; p. 195). But Melanchthon also taught rhetoric, and he was particularly interested in how Virgil's argumentation worked. The opening lines of Anna's speech to Dido at the beginning of Book 4 show how his notes draw attention to the rhetorical aspects of what Virgil is saying:

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[41] Orientation to the voluminous scholarship on Melanchthon may be found in Heinz Scheible, 'Philippus Melanchthon', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, edited by Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2003; rpt. of 1985–7 edn), 2:424–9, updated by Kees Meerhoff, 'Philippe Melanchthon', in *Centuriae latinae: cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, edited by Colette Nativel (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 537–49. The copy of Virgil, *Opera* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1532) in the Princeton University Library (LW1529–1532.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, pp. 87–8) was once thought to contain Melanchthon's handwritten annotations to the first three books of the *Aeneid*. The book was sold in 1835 as part of the collection of Dr G. F. B. Kloss of Frankfurt (p. 284, lot nr. 3977), with the Melanchthon connection apparently put forth by Samuel Leigh Sotheby himself in the auction catalogue and defended in his *Unpublished Documents, Marginal Notes and Memoranda in the Autograph of Philip Melanchthon and of Martin Luther* (London: J. Davy, 1840) (copies of both items may be found in the New York Public Library). Dr Kloss, however, objected to this attribution in an article in *Serapeum* 24 (1841): 369–77; Kloss appears to have been correct, since several other items from the 1835 sale have since been re-examined and found to contain annotations in several different hands.

> Anna refert: 'o luce magis dilesta [sic] sorori,
> solane perpetua moerens carpere iuventa?
> nec dulces natos, Veneris nec praemia noris?
> id cinerem, aut manes credis curare sepultos?
> Esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
> non Libyae, non ante Tyro despectus Iarbas,
> ductoresque alii, quos Aphrica terra triumphis
> dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?
> nec venit in mentem, quorum consederis arvis?' (*Aen.* 4.31–9)
>
> (O dearer than the vital Air I breath,
> will you to Grief your blooming Years bequeath?
> Condemn'd to wast in Woes, your lonely Life,
> without the Joys of Mother, or of Wife.
> Think you these Tears, this pompous Train of Woe,
> are known, or valu'd by the Ghosts below?
> I grant, that while your Sorrows yet were green,
> it well became a Woman, and a Queen,
> the Vows of Tyrian Princes to neglect,
> to scorn Hyarbas, and his Love reject;
> with all the Lybian Lords of mighty Name,
> but will you fight against a pleasing Flame!
> This little Spot of Land, which Heav'n bestows,
> on ev'ry side is hemm'd with warlike Foes.) (pp. 347–8)

Next to line 31 Melanchthon writes 'peroratio', indicating that this is the introduction to the speech. The marginal note next to the following line is 'obiurgatio vice propositionis', indicating that this is a complaint in place of a proposition, which follows up on Melanchthon's opening observation that Book 4 is about emotions. When Anna asks Dido whether she thinks that the shades care about matters like this (l. 34), Melanchthon writes that this argument rests in one of the rhetorical commonplaces, the 'confutatio ab inutili' ('refutation from the lack of utility'). The last argument, that Dido should think of whose land she is in (l. 39), is derived from another rhetorical commonplace, 'necessario' ('from what is necessary'; p. 193).[42]

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[42] Technical terms from rhetoric used in this section can be looked up in Heinrich Lausberg's *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric,* trans. Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, and David E. Orton, ed. David E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson (Leiden and Boston:

For another example of how Virgilian marginalia could guide the practice of composition, let us return to the annotations to Book 5 of the *Aeneid* found in the 1567 Frankfurt edition of Virgil's works that we looked at earlier in this section. At line 45 Aeneas begins a speech in which he announces the funeral games that will occupy this book. At the beginning of his speech the printed marginalia read 'Narratio. Amplificatio a maiori, ducta a circunstantia loci' (f. 114v). These are rhetorical terms. The 'narration' is the part of a speech that provides background, and 'amplification' is a technical procedure by which a point can be expanded. There are several ways to do this; the one selected here involves arguing 'from something greater or more important', 'drawn from the circumstances of place' (Aeneas and his men have returned to the very spot where Anchises was buried). A little later on, at a key moment in the ship race, Mnestheus delivers a speech to his sailors that begins like this:

> . . . Nunc nunc insurgite remis
> Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema
> delegi comites: nunc illas promite vires,
> nunc animos, quibus in Getulis Syrtibus usi,
> Ionioque mari, Maleaeque sequacibus undis. (*Aen.* 5.189–93)
>
> (My friends, and Hector's Followers heretofore;
> exert your Vigour, tug the lab'ring Oar;
> stretch to your Stroaks, my still unconquer'd Crew,
> whom from the flaming Walls of Troy I drew.
> In this, our common Int'rest, let me find
> that strength of Hand, that courage of the Mind,
> as when you stem'd the strong Malaean Flood,
> and o're the Syrtes broken Billows row'd.) (pp. 384–5)

The printed note next to this speech is 'Benevolentiam captat, & adhortatur a recordatione virtutis. Oratio est generis deliberativi' (f. 117r). Again, these are rhetorical terms. The speech begins, the annotator tells us, with an effort to 'capture the good will' of the listeners. 'In kind it is a deliberative speech', one urging them to act a certain way in the (near) future, and the 'exhortation arises from an

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Brill, 1997). The best overview of Renaissance rhetoric to date is Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620*, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

appeal to memory of their strength and courage'. Other speeches in this edition are marked with similar rhetorical cues.

This approach reaches its logical conclusion in books like the *Exercitationes rhetoricae in praecipuas Virgilii orationes*, a work that was published along with a number of early editions of Virgil's works.[43] Here a group of important speeches in the *Aeneid* are broken down and analysed rhetorically. The first of the speeches in Book 4 to be considered in the *Exercitationes rhetoricae*, for example, is the one in which Dido tells Anna of her new passion for Aeneas (ll. 9–29). The analysis begins with the identification of which passion is involved (love), which rhetorical commonplaces the arguments are derived from (from effects and from contraries), and which parts the speech can be divided into (introduction, narration, and conclusion). Then comes the detailed analysis. In lines 9–11, the introduction, Dido praises Aeneas in order to make her sister positively disposed to him. In lines 12–14 Dido proves that Aeneas is of divine origin by arguing from effects:

> Viri fortes a Diis habent originem;
> sed Aeneas in tot bellis, ac periculis se fortiter semper gessit;
> ergo revera a Diis habet originem.
>
> (Brave men have their origin from the gods.
> But Aeneas always comported himself bravely in
> so many wars and dangers.
> Therefore in truth he has his origin from the gods.)

The beginning of verse 13, 'degeneres animos timor arguit' ('Fear ever argues a degenerate Kind', p. 346), is the argument from contraries, and the end of verse 13 and the beginning of verse 14, 'heu, quibus ille / iactatus fatis!' ('Then what he suffered, when by Fate betray'd',

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[43] This book was first published at the end of the seventeenth century by the press at the seminary in Padua (LW1694–1695.1, in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 47), but two different editions appeared as late as 1760, one published in Trnava, Slovakia at the Jesuit academy (LW1760.1, in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 61) and the other in Munich and Ingolstadt by J. F. X. Crätz (LW1760.3, in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 61). The citations that follow are to the copy of the former edition in the private library in which I have been working and will appear in the text. The *Exercitationes rhetoricae* was popular in Jesuit schools and reflects an educational practice that retained many of its key features from the formulation of the *Ratio studiorum* in 1599 until the Jesuits ran into trouble with the civil authorities in several countries shortly after the 1760 editions were published; see Aldo Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986).

p. 347), is an example of 'assumptio', the introduction of an extraneous point necessary for understanding an issue. The narration, in which Dido explains that only Aeneas has made her rethink her determination not to remarry, is in verses 15–23, and the conclusion, in which she tries to strengthen this determination, is in verses 24–9 (vol. 3, pp. 962–3). Here we have a textbook designed to guide classroom practice. Each speech was broken down into its constituent parts, with an emphasis on rhetorical structure and argumentation, and it is worth noting that the *Exercitationes rhetoricae* is accompanied by indices of descriptions, similes, and memorable proverbs, which opens up the *Aeneid* to the stylistic and content analysis we have been analysing. The idea here is that if one understood how Virgil's logic linked his well-expressed moral sentiments together, one could repeat the process using the same phrases in a new composition.

So, to recapitulate: in moving through a series of early printed editions, we have found enough evidence to recover a materially based way of reading Virgil that few, if any, modern individuals would follow. Readers like the Rector Hesse mentioned earlier in this section would buy an early printed edition of a poet like Virgil and read it with an eye on the moral wisdom it contains, especially as encapsulated in easily remembered proverbs and aphorisms, and on phrases that were expressed well, that represented the right way to say something, and that exemplified figures of speech like similes. While they read, they underlined. Often they also signalled the phrases that had caught their attention in the margin with a word or two (indexing notes) that could remind them why the phrase was important. These marginal signals themselves could be printed with the text, as Melanchthon did, as a guide to other readers who would not in turn have to do all the thinking themselves. In the next step, the whole business was reformatted, with the indexing notes becoming the headings in a commonplace book and the Virgilian lines being reorganized under those headings. Sometimes, again, these commonplace books were printed, as an aid to those who needed this material for their own compositions. These commonplaces had to be put together in a persuasive way, so commentaries like Melanchthon's and manuals like the *Exercitationes rhetoricae* showed how an argument could be constructed, again using Virgil as a compositional guide. Readers who understood how Virgil's rhetoric worked could proceed in the same way and prepare compositions of their own, adding to Virgil's techniques the phrases and lines they had to hand in their Virgilian commonplace books.

3.4. READING IN THE RENAISSANCE

It is worth emphasizing that the kind of reading outlined in the preceding section is a distinctively Renaissance practice. To be sure, as Ann Moss has shown, parts of this practice bore some similarities to the anthologies and *florilegia* that circulated in the Middle Ages,[44] and people have underlined passages in their books and quoted these passages in their own writing in modern times as well. But when the people who guided the development of Renaissance education looked for a model with which to teach their students to read, they did the same thing they did in so many other areas as well: they sought that model in antiquity. Since the practice was essentially a Renaissance one, they did not find an exact parallel, but they did discover a point of contact with what they were doing. Readers:

> omnino illud teneant, ut semper ex iis quae legunt conentur excerpere, sibique persuadeant, quod Plinius dictitare solebat, 'nullum esse librum malum ut non in aliqua parte prosit'. Haec studendi ratio apud veteres observata fuit adeo, ut Plinius maior electorum <commentarios> centum et sexaginta opistographos sororis filio reliquerit, quos aliquando quadringenties milibus nummum Larcio Licino in Hispania vendere potuit.
>
> (should hold fast to the practice of always making excerpts of what they read, and they should convince themselves of the truth of Pliny's dictum, that 'there is no book so bad that it is totally useless'. The ancients had such regard for this plan of study that Pliny the Elder left

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[44] Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 43–4. Commonplace books are starting to attract significant attention from modern scholars: see *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period*, vol. 1: *Counter-Reformation and Revolt*, ed. David Cowling and Mette B. Brown; vol. 2, *Consolidation of God-Given Power*, ed. Kathryn Banks and Philiep G. Bossier; and vol. 3, *Legitimation of Authority*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans and Nils Holger Petersen, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change, 39–41 (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011). Indexing notes and reading for commonplaces are found in early Renaissance manuscripts as well as printed books, but since the former lost ground steadily to the latter through the early modern period, the process anchored itself more and more firmly into the culture of print.

> to his nephew 160 notebooks of selected passages, written on both sides of the page, which on one occasion in Spain the elder Pliny could have sold to Larcius Licinus for 400,000 sesterces.)[45]

From here it is but a short additional step to refine the notetaking to stress passages with a moral or stylistic focus, then to organize them under appropriate headings.

It is also worth emphasizing that this way of reading Virgil is difficult, if not impossible, to recover without paying attention to the early printed editions in which traces of it can still be found. This is not as obvious as it might seem. As we have seen, the prevailing methodological model for tracking Virgil's impact through the ages is derived from reception studies.[46] This approach has its roots in the *Rezeptionsgeschichte* of Wolfgang Iser and Hans Robert Jauss and is largely abstract and theoretical, telling us how ideal readers and implied readers should have been consuming texts and making sense of them.[47] The 'history' part of the methodological label suggests a salutary recognition that somehow this process changed over time, but in the end it turns out to have been firmly based in how a group of late twentieth-century readers processed a series of disembodied texts. My argument is that the growing field of reception studies in the classics would benefit from a vigorous materialization of its procedures, in which the object of study becomes the traces of reading practices left by actual readers in real, surviving books.[48]

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[45] Guarino, 'A Program of Teaching and Learning', pp. 294–5.

[46] 'The classical tradition' suggests to many a more passive handing down of something that remains unchanged in many ways, while 'reception' emphasizes an active appropriation and recasting, but such distinctions are impossible to maintain in practice. In the end I suspect that both names will remain, as they have with the appropriate committee of the American Philological Association, which was recently renamed the Classical Tradition and Reception Committee.

[47] Iser, *The Act of Reading*; and Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982). There is by now an extensive bibliography in this area, most of which is not directly relevant to the argument being made here.

[48] It is worth noting that the principal objection to this line of research with Renaissance books, beyond the inherent difficulty in deciphering and making sense of masses of handwritten material, lies in the fact that personal responses on the aesthetic level are generally absent in marginalia written before 1800, as H. T. Jackson notes in *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 44–80. I suggested in 'Marginalia and the Rise of Early Modern Subjectivity', in *On Renaissance Commentaries*, edited by Marianne Pade, Noctes Neolatinae/Neo-Latin Texts and Studies, 4 (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Olms, 2005), pp. 111–28, that early glosses in fact can offer considerable insight into

Central to this approach are marginal notes like those examined in this chapter, but in some cases the argument is supported by the layout of the book as well as the handwritten notes entered into it. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, for example, printers in Paris, the Low Countries, and the area of Germany around Cologne produced a series of Virgilian editions with wide margins and spaces between the lines of texts, offering extra room for notetaking because they knew that was what their buyers wanted. Surviving copies of these books are often filled with notes,[49] which is not something that should be taken for granted; indeed, anyone who has looked at a large number of early editions of classical texts has undoubtedly noticed that vernacular editions are usually unmarked. Occasionally someone who had been educated in a Latin school bought a copy of a familiar author like Virgil in translation and read the vernacular version as he had been taught to read the Latin one, but this is the exception that proves the rule: most people read differently in their own language than in Latin, as we can see by examining the margins of their books.

If we are willing to do this, books that might initially strike us as marginal move to the centre of Renaissance culture, providing further insight into the values and priorities of an earlier period. Viewed in isolation, for example, volumes like the Petit–Coyssard commonplace book discussed in the preceding section might seem to deserve the obscurity into which they have fallen. But a glance at *A Bibliography of the Early Printed Editions of Virgil, 1469–1850* reveals a group of books like this: the *Versuum ex Virgilio proverbialium collectanea* of Adriaen van Baerland (1486–1538), the *Publii Virgilii Maronis versus proverbiales* of Girolamo Chiozzi (b.1590), the *Adagiorum seu proverbialium versuum ex Aeneide, Georgicis et Bucolicis collectorum centuriae quinque et decuriae tres* of Valentin Rotmar (d.1580/1), fifteen in all (including reprints) published before 1600. And to these one could add another, larger group: the collections of passages from classical authors that include, but are not limited to, Virgil, like the *Sententiae et proverbia ex poetis Latinis* published

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the values and feelings of early readers, but in general I think it is better not to look for what we want in this material, but rather to see what is there and analyse it on its own terms for what it can tell us about the culture in which it was produced.

[49] Descriptions of a number of these books, which were often in quarto format, may be found in Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 46–66.

in Venice in 1547.[50] Another group of books that might appear marginal are the Virgilian centos published during the Renaissance, poems that rearrange lines from Virgil's works so that the language of the ancients expresses the thoughts of their later readers. The practice began in late antiquity when, as we have seen in Chapter 2, Proba made Virgil tell the story of Christianity.[51] If we include Renaissance editions of their poetry, which met the needs of later readers well enough to be reprinted again and again, we get ninety-two Virgilian cento editions published by the year 1600. As one might expect, some Renaissance Virgilian centos like the *Virgiliocentones continentes vitam salvatoris nostri* of Otto Gryphius (1561–1612) or the *De monomachia Davidis et Goliathi* of Heinrich Meibom (1555–1625) continued to deal with religious themes, but others, like the *Cento ex Virgilio ad Paulum IV Pontificem Maximum* of Giulio Capilupi (*fl.* sixteenth century) and the *Imperatorum ac Caesarum Romanorum ex familia Austriaca oriundorum descriptiones* of Giulio Capilupi, praised the famous men of their day, much as Virgil was thought to have praised Augustus.[52] Most of these books now lie forgotten in rare book repositories, but they should not remain there unread, for they can also be seen as the logical outcome of the reading process we have been discussing, in which Virgil's poetry was broken into units of a line or two, rearranged, and then reused in a new composition. When the writer's own words are also present, the composition is the standard product of its age; when they are not, it becomes a cento. Once we understand this process, we are also in a better position to appreciate how the dismembered fragments of Virgil's text are rematerialized in different forms, ranging from coins and medals to mottoes for the academies within which much of Renaissance intellectual life took place.[53]

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[50] Editions of Virgilian commonplace books are listed in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, pp. 321–3. The *Sententiae et proverbia* is described at length in my 'Proverbs, Censors, and Schools: Neo-Latin Studies and Book History', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Abulensis: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, edited by Rhoda Schnur et al. (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2000), pp. 371–80.

[51] The best recent study of the Virgilian centos from late antiquity is Scott McGill, *Virgil Recomposed: The Mythological and Secular Centos in Antiquity*, American Philological Association, American Classical Studies, 48 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). McGill does not discuss Proba in any detail, but his analysis of the other Virgilian centos from the period explains clearly how the genre works.

[52] Virgilian centos are listed in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, pp. 307–19.

Undervaluing books that were important in their own day is not the only mistake we can make if we do not approach Virgil's place in Renaissance culture through its material forms. For example, some twenty-five years ago, Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine wrote a book called *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* that became influential in several disciplines.[54] Among its many merits, this revisionist study pointed out that, like most other things crafted by flesh-and-blood people, humanist education did not always live up to its lofty ideals. Grafton and Jardine looked at what actually went on in the Renaissance classroom and argued that instruction was dominated by a mind-numbing attention to detail, such that unless the teacher was truly gifted, the proverbial forest tended to get lost in the trees. The day consisted of 'explanation of interesting words and constructions, very brief and sketchy discussions of historical points, bits of general information of the sort that a cultivated person should know and formal analysis of the rhetorical *loci*' (p. 20) used by the classical author being studied. Teachers did include some moral comments in the course of their lectures, but 'these observations inevitably became absorbed into the pedagogical routine—something to be recorded between etymologies and paraphrases, rather than a coherent contribution to a fully articulated moral philosophy' (p. 22).

Anyone who has looked at a series of *recordationes*—the notes taken by students in humanist classrooms—can see where Grafton and Jardine are coming from.[55] But handwritten notes are not our only evidence for how Renaissance readers understood Virgil. If we look at the early printed books in which Renaissance readers actually encountered classical authors, we find other interpretive clues that are lost in modern editions. For example, a quick look at the folio editions of the *Aeneid* with commentary shows that the interpretation of the *Aeneid* by Cristoforo Landino (1424–98) dominated the critical reception of the poem for a generation after its first printing in 1487/8. Landino's analysis begins with an overarching interpretive scheme derived from Renaissance Neoplatonism:

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[53] The use of classical mottoes for academies was especially common in Italy; information can be found at the website for the Academies Project, <http://www.italianacademy.columbia.edu/APIA_WEBSITE/italy.html>, hosted by the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University (accessed 14 April 2014). I am grateful to Marco Sgarbi for this reference. Pierre Assenmaker, of the Université catholique de Louvain, is working on coins and medals containing Virgilian references. His 'Citazioni virgiliane su medaglie e gettoni dei Paese Bassi nella seconda metà del XVI secolo', which was presented in October, 2012 at a conference on Virgil and the Renaissance, is currently being revised for publication.

[54] Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities.* References to this book will be placed into the text. The book has remained sufficiently important and provocative that the Renaissance Society of America marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of its publication with a special panel.

[55] Ann Blair, 'Student Manuscripts and the Textbook', and Jürgen Leonhardt, 'Classics as Textbooks: A Study of the Humanist Lectures on Cicero at the University

> Divinus enim Plato, cum virtutes de vita et moribus easdem quas ceteri posuisset, ita ad postremum illas diversis sive ordinibus sive generibus distinguit, ut alia quadam ratione ab iis illas coli ostendat, qui coetus ac civitates adamant, alia ab iis, qui omnem mortalitatem dediscere cupientes et humanarum rerum odio moti ad sola divina cognoscenda eriguntur, alia postremo ab iis, qui ab omni iam contagione expiati in solis divinis versantur. Primas igitur 'civiles' dixit, secundas 'purgatorias' ac tertias 'animi iam purgati'.
>
> (For the divinely inspired Plato, when he had treated the same virtues pertaining to life and conduct which others had treated, at last separated them in different ranks and kinds, so that he shows that they are practiced in one certain way by those who love the political assembly and the state. The virtues are cultivated in another way by those who desire to forget every aspect of their mortality and, moved by hatred for things human, are encouraged to learn about divine matters alone. Finally, the virtues are practiced in a third way by those who, having been purified by this time from every contagion, engage themselves in divine affairs only. He thus called these first virtues 'civic', the second ones 'purgatorial', and the third 'those of a spirit at last purified'.)[56]

In this scheme, all three grades of virtue are good, so there is a place for both the active and the contemplative lives. But the three grades are arranged in a hierarchy, so that Aeneas is praiseworthy for having passed through all three of them in order to leave the political life and

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of Leipzig, *ca.* 1515', offer good introductions to *recordationes* from the humanist classroom, with both papers found in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony T. Grafton, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 447 (Geneva: Droz, 2008), pp. 39–74 and 89–112, respectively. Ruys, Ward, and Heyworth, *The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom*, should also be consulted.

[56] Cristoforo Landino, *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, ed. Peter Lohe, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Studi e testi, 6 (Florence: Sansoni, 1980), p. 153.

reach a knowledge of heavenly affairs. Landino's interpretation of the *Aeneid* begins with this heuristic scheme and places each major event in the poem into the moral development of the hero, who encounters a series of impediments to his ethical progress, so that in Book 2 he struggles against 'voluptas', the unrestrained sensuality represented by the city of Troy; in Book 3 he continues to meet examples of 'voluptas' (Scylla, Anchises) along with 'avaritia' ('greed', represented by Thrace, the Harpies, and Charybdis) and 'ambitio' ('political ambition', represented by Polyphemus); and Book 4 shows him struggling against the yearning for political office.[57] This approach is clearly developed within 'a fully articulated moral philosophy'.

The same is true of what we find in the commentary to Book 1 of the *Aeneid*—or rather, to the first 200 lines of Book 1—published by Sebastiano Regoli (1514–70) in 1563.[58] This commentary interprets the poem systematically from within the principles of Renaissance Aristotelianism, placing it with poetry and rhetoric into the practical arts that are designed to guide the reader to understanding virtue and acting upon that understanding. The goal of the author is focused around showing an image of a perfect man, a generous, brave leader who hopes for better things in adversity and maintains a judicious fear that good things can turn to bad; Virgil fashions Aeneas doing everything in reference to the standard of virtue, which leads 'ad summam foelicitatem', 'to the greatest blessedness' that is the goal of every good poet (9–10). Regoli's discussion, however, is anchored solidly in Aristotle's *Poetics*, a text that was known only in garbled form during the Middle Ages in the West and had little influence on literary criticism during this period.[59] Regoli notes immediately that poetry functions by imitating human actions, either good or bad (p. 9), which is a fundamental principle in the *Poetics* (chapter 2). When he moves to the second category, Regoli notes that Virgil does not describe what sort of a man Aeneas was, but what sort of a hero verisimilitude would require (p. 13), which is another key Aristotelian principle (chapter 9). Virgil's method, Regoli continues, is division, which is first applied to the plot, in which the various strands are gathered together as the climax is approached, then released (chapter 18), with the change in fortune taking place when Turnus sees the Latins broken in battle and can foresee the outcome of the war. Division is again applied to plot, which has a beginning, middle, and end (chapter 7); then to character, which is good or bad (chapter 2); then to words (chapters 20–2), which show character; and finally to thought (chapter 19), which proves or disproves, showing what is true or false (chapters 14–15). These four elements—plot, character, words, and thought—are the four parts of a tragedy that are shared with epic, according to Aristotle (chapter 5). After explaining that there are twelve books in the *Aeneid* because this is a number favoured by the Pythagoreans, Regoli returns to his Aristotelian roots, noting that the poets begin with historical truth as a way to increase verisimilitude (chapter 9) (p. 21). Finally, in discussing the last category, Regoli notes that Aristotle rebukes those poets who simply recount all the deeds of their hero, thereby naming their poem after the main character. The *Aeneid*, he argues, is not open to this criticism because Virgil did not write a loose account of all the things Aeneas did, but a poem focused on a single, unified action, as Aristotle prescribed (chapter 8) (pp. 80–8).

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[57] On Landino's Virgilian criticism, see Craig Kallendorf, 'You Are My Master': Dante and the Virgil Criticism of Cristoforo Landino', in *In Praise of Aeneas,* pp. 129–65, with bibliography, along with Frank La Brasca, 'Cristoforo Landino e la culture Florentine de la Renaissance', unpublished doctoral thesis (Université de Paris III, 1989). An introduction to Landino's life and works, with bibliography, can be found in Craig Kallendorf, 'Cristoforo Landino (1424-1498)', in Nativel, ed., *Centuriae latinae,* pp. 477–83.

[58] *Sebastiani Reguli Brasichellensis in primum Aeneidos Virgilii librum ex Aristotelis De arte poetica et Rhetorica praeceptis explicationes* (Bologna: Ioannes Rubeus, 1563). References to Regoli's commentary will be placed in the text. I am not aware of a comprehensive study of Regoli or his works. Occasionally reference to his *Aeneid* commentary is made by modern scholars: see R. Cummings, 'Two Sixteenth-Century Notices of Numerological Composition in the *Aeneid*', *Notes and Queries* 214 (1969): 26–7; Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 6; and David Mikics, *The Limits of Moralizing: Pathos and Subjectivity in Spenser and Milton* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1994). Regoli was not the only commentator to approach the *Aeneid* from an Aristotelian perspective: see, for example, Sebastián de Matienzo, *Commentationes selectae ethicae politicae in Virgilii Aeneiden* (Leiden: Horace Boissat and Georges Remé, 1662). References to Regoli's commentary will be placed in the text.

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[59] On the reintegration of Aristotle's *Poetics* into Italian Renaissance literary criticism, see Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); and O. B. Hardison, Jr, 'The Place of Averroes' Commentary on the *Poetics* in the History of Medieval Criticism', in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies: Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Summer 1968*, edited by John Lievsay (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1970), pp. 57–81. References to Aristotle's *Poetics* will be placed in the text.

In the end Landino and Regoli are the exceptions that prove the rule, for their efforts to interpret the *Aeneid* from within a major philosophical system represent the road not taken by most Renaissance readers.[60] The more common path is the one described in this chapter. But even here, we should be careful not to underestimate what the commonplace method accomplished. By definition commonplaces represent the moral sentiments that are generally accepted within a culture,[61] not the pinnacles of ethical reasoning, but just because commonplace books lack the logical rigor of an ethical treatise by Thomas Aquinas does not mean that they should be dismissed out of hand. And what is more, they offer an organized approach to ethics, which as Paul Oskar Kristeller noted decades ago is one of the five key disciplines of Renaissance humanism,[62] for they are arranged alphabetically. As a number of printing historians have noted, the explosion of knowledge that accompanied the spread of printing made it imperative to develop new ways of organizing ideas.[63] A number of these ideas, like indices, are based on alphabetization, which was used in earlier periods but took on new importance in the Renaissance. Here again, commonplace books are typical of their age, offering a coherent, systematic approach to the study of human behaviour through literature that can only be recovered from early printed books.

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[60] For a more detailed discussion of how these readings of Virgil contributed to the structure of Renaissance ethical knowledge, see my 'Virgil and the Ethical Commentary: Plato, Aristotle, and the Function of Literature', in *Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1300–1700),* edited by K. Enenkel and H. Nellen, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 19 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), pp. 201–19.

[61] This point is emphasized by Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[62] This point received its classic formulation in Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'The Humanist Movement', in *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), pp. 3–23. Kristeller's approach is noteworthy for its balance, giving due attention to Platonism but also stressing the continued vitality of the Aristotelian tradition: see also his *La tradizione aristotelica nel Rinascimento* (Padua: Antenore, 1962), along with Charles Schmitt, *Aristotle in the Renaissance*, Martin Classical Lectures, 27 (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1983); and David A. Lines, *Aristotle's Ethics in the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1300–1650): The Universities and the Problem of Moral Education* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[63] See Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

All of this should serve to underscore one of the main themes of this study: that attention to the physical book undermines the efforts to stabilize text and meaning that have driven much traditional scholarship in the classics. If authority rests in the text as the author wrote it, to be understood as he or she intended within the culture in which it was produced, then what has been discussed in this chapter offers at best an interesting diversion, but at worst an approach that leads us away from the goal to which our scholarship should be directed. If, however, the meaning of a work of literature rests in how the words on the page are understood by succeeding generations of readers, then how those readers read matters a great deal and we must devote our efforts to following changes in reading practices as a way to determine when one reading has given way to another. The marginalia left by earlier readers offer one way to do this, as do the other various products of their reading practices. Commentaries identify what was important enough to try to understand, while centos suggest what ideas and values these earlier readers were associating with the source text. Commonplace books and indices in turn provide indications of what readers were seeing in the text and how they chose to organize what they saw. All of this changed, and changed again, and changed again, as new readers brought new experiences and cultural norms to what they read, then left traces of their intellectual activity in both symbolic and physical form.

In the end, as Derrida has taught us, the trace involves absence as well as presence, and this is as true in the world of early printed books as it is the philosophy of language.[64] Several years ago I went into an antiquarian bookshop in Padua and asked the owner, Pierangelo Stella, if he had any older Virgilian editions for sale. He said he did not, then got a thoughtful look on his face and noted that in over thirty years in the trade, he had noticed that there were fewer surviving copies of Virgil than of other classical authors like Ovid and Caesar. This observation is difficult to prove, but there is anecdotal evidence to support it: *Greek and Latin Classics V*, a catalogue from Blackwell's Rare Books in Oxford that appeared while I was writing this chapter, has three pre-1800 editions of Virgil, much closer to the two copies of Lucretius and Martial who were banned from the

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[64] The analogy, of course, is only partial: see Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

Renaissance school environment than to the seven each of Horace and Homer,[65] the latter of which few people in the Renaissance, even well-educated people, could read. The explanation, I believe, lies in the fact that Virgil's position in Renaissance education was so central: many copies printed in this period were simply handed down from one student to another until they fell apart and were discarded. Here, again, literary history depends on observing (or in this case, being unable to observe) the physical object as well as the text it carries.

3.5. BOOKS READ AND UNREAD

Much of what I have discussed in this chapter is connected to marginalia, but handwritten annotations are subject to the same laws of presence and absence as the books that carry them: once we have noticed marginalia in the early printed editions of Virgil and explored their importance, we should pay attention as well when we do not see them in other books and think about what that might mean. There is no reason to assume that everyone, everywhere will write in his or her books. To take an obvious, but nevertheless meaningful, example, the prevailing assumption in twenty-first century American schools is that the students will *not* write in their textbooks. These books belong to the school system, not the student, and they should be kept clean for next year's class; what is more, it would be considered cheating to put the answers to a math problem, or an interlinear translation of the *Eclogues*, into a textbook for someone else. Students today, of course, do write in their books, but this sort of resistance to authority has developed in a completely different environment from the one in the sixteenth century, when students owned their own books and were therefore free to do whatever they wanted to them. As William Sherman has noted, writing in a book then increased its value, because it was seen to have added to the wisdom contained in it, but the same practice three or four centuries later was generally seen to decrease the value of a book, to the extent that until a generation or two ago, dealers often washed the margins of their early printed books to make them look again as they had when they came off the press.[66]

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[65] One of a series of catalogues occasionally issued by Blackwell's; this one appeared in autumn 2012. The copies of Virgil are items 105–7; of Lucretius, 67–8; of Martial, 69–70; of Horace, 44–50; and of Homer, 32–8.

Even at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Virgil retains a place, albeit a greatly diminished one, in the curriculum of European and American schools. Most teachers at the beginning of the twenty-first century are not reading through the *Aeneid* in search of moral aphorisms or elegant phrases that their students can use in their Latin compositions, but many of them still work through the text word for word, commenting on how each term is used in the sentence and what it means in context. This type of close reading encourages the student to enter notes in the margin, so it would stand to reason that even after the Renaissance, we should still find copies of Virgil's poetry with handwritten notes. And so we do, but not in the same numbers as before. Anyone who has looked at a large number of editions of a classical author printed over a long period will have the impression that the percentage of annotated copies declines over time. This impression can be confirmed in the private collection I have worked with in preparing this book. This collection contains eighty-five sixteenth-century editions of Virgil, forty-three of which, or 50 per cent, contain marginal annotations that go beyond the occasional *probatio pennae* or insertion of line numbers. The collection also contains 453 eighteenth-century books, of which only 105, or 23 per cent, contain annotations. The decline, in other words, is by more than half in percentage terms.

What is even more noticeable in the eighteenth century is the reappearance of a new kind of edition that was seldom, if ever, written in. The earliest printed edition of Virgil (LW1469.1) was a folio that contained only the text, and a good many other fifteenth-century editions were set up similarly. These books contained wide margins, and they were often annotated. The most expensive part of printing an early book, however, was the paper,[67] and printing only the text on large pages with lots of white space soon came to be seen as an unnecessary extravagance. Folio editions continued to be printed throughout the early modern period, but they generally contained one or more commentaries that surrounded the text in smaller type, thereby justifying the use of the extra paper. Beginning around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the folio edition without commentary reappeared, from the presses of John Baskerville (1706–75) in Birmingham (LW1754.2), then of Giambattista Bodoni (1740–1813) in Parma (LW1793.3), Andrew Foulis (1712–75) in Glasgow (LW1778.1), and Pierre Didot (1760–1853) in Paris (LW1798.4).[68] The space between the lines of text and the relatively wide margins again invited readers to write in the book, but this time they did not do so—indeed, I do not ever recall seeing a copy of one of these editions that contains marginalia. The same is true for several other eighteenth-century texts, including the lavish quarto editions by Henry Justice (*c.*1697–1763; LW1757–1765.1), in which the text was printed from copper plates, not movable type,[69] and John (1690–1756) and Robert Edge Pine (*c.*1730–88; LE1755.1 and LG1755.1, LE1774.1 and LG1774.1), which is justly renowned for its engravings. These editions were sufficiently expensive that the printing costs had to be raised in advance from a group of subscribers[70] or a noble patron,[71] yet they continued to be printed in large formats and preserved in pristine, unmarked condition.

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[66] Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 151–78.

[67] Cristina Dondi, 'The European Printing Revolution', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, edited by Michael F. Suarez, S. J., and H. R. Woudhuysen, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1:57 indicates that the cost of paper generally came to about half the cost of producing an early printed book.

What conclusions can we draw from these observations? First, I think that the evidence we have just worked through confirms, if there was any doubt about it, that reading is not a natural, universal process, but a taught activity that evolves over time and space.

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[68] Baskerville, Bodoni, Foulis, and Didot produced the great monuments of Neoclassical printing. Junius S. Morgan, whose Virgil collection is now at Princeton, considered the illustrated 1798 Didot version to be ‘probably the most magnificent edition of Virgil ever published, with superb plates’ (‘The History of the Text of Virgil’, in *The Tradition of Virgil*, edited by J. S. Morgan, K. McKenzie, and C. G. Osgood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930), p. 10); it won a gold medal at the 1798 exhibition, at which point Didot’s presses were moved into the Louvre.

[69] Justice is one of the more colourful figures in the annals of Virgilian printing: he was convicted in 1752 of having stolen books from the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, one of which was Virgil’s works, after which he moved to the continent and printed the 1757–65 edition in The Hague.

[70] The subscribers to the 1757 Baskerville Virgil, which are listed on ff. a1r–b2v, include Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Johnson.

[71] The Princeton University Library contains a copy of the 1774 Pine *Eclogues* with additional sheets inserted, making it a specimen prepared for the Duke of Marlborough and soliciting his contribution for the printing of the *Georgics*; see Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 229 (L1774) and 230–1 (plates 31 and 32).

Reading, in other words, has a history. The kind of reading we saw evidence of in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions is essentially 'intensive', where a small number of texts—Virgil, Cicero, the Bible—were read slowly and carefully, often with an eye on the details at the expense of the 'big picture'. The seeds of a different kind of reading, in which a great deal more material is processed much more quickly, were certainly present in the sixteenth century—remember the description of this 'extensive' reading we found in the prologue to the *Celestina*. The rise of printing accelerated the movement from intensive to extensive reading, by flooding Europe with many more books than could ever have been produced by hand, in time at much lower prices as well. As Rolf Engelsing has noted, this process was completed by the eighteenth century, when 'extensive reading' had become the norm.[72] As people read more books more quickly, they left fewer notes, often none at all, in what they read.

The fact that the deluxe, unmarked editions produced in the eighteenth century are almost invariably found without any notes, however, creates the suspicion that they might in fact not have been read at all—that they were originally produced at least in part for some other purpose. At first glance it might seem perverse to suggest that a book might not have been intended to be read, but today an interior designer can go to companies like 'Books by the Foot' or to reputable bookstores like The Strand and Argosy Books and buy leather volumes by colour or size to put into the bookcases of a client who will presumably never read them, but wants them to create the right impression of his or her educational history and status.[73] The evidence suggests that, while some copies of Virgil published by Baskerville or Didot may have been read, many others were purchased primarily to adorn the shelves of libraries in English country houses or French chateaux, where they attested to the taste and social standing of their owners.[74] Because they were expensive when they were printed, books like these have been retained through the generations, and because they often remained unread, it is not difficult to find a copy in good condition even now. They are still expensive, but that is also because they are seen today as monuments in the history of printing, books to be valued as technical achievements with little if any regard for the text they contain.

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[72] A good introduction to recent work in the history of reading may be found in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds, *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), which contains an essay by Reinhard Wittmann, 'Was There a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?', pp. 284–312, which discusses the passage from intensive to extensive reading.

[73] See the websites for 'Books by the Foot' <http://www.booksbythefoot.com/>, a division of Wonder Book under the direction of Charles Roberts; The Strand Bookstore in New York City <http://www.strandbooks.com/books-by-the-foot>; and Argosy Books, also in New York City <http://www.argosybooks.com/shop/argosy/booksbythefoot.html?id=G3VieGwK> (all accessed 14 April 2014).

At this point the road we have been following in this chapter has come to a dead end. There is nothing wrong, of course, with valuing a book solely as an object, but doing so will not help us understand the ways in which the physical form of that book can guide us in interpreting the text it carries. To do this, we must take a different path.

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[74] It is worth noting that to meet this need, a number of books appeared to guide those who suddenly had to build a library that contained the 'right' books: see, for example, Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics . . .*, 4th edn, 2 vols (London: Harding and Lepard, G. B. Whittaker, 1827), with the section on Virgil in 2:527–64. *The Book Collector* regularly publishes articles on libraries in English country houses, many of which are now administered by the National Trust. As the families that owned them have died off or the interests of the owners changed, many books in these libraries have come on to the market: the private collection that I used in preparing this study, for example, contains a Latin text (LW1777.3) that came from the Regency library of Stourhead House, owned by Sir Hugh Richard Hoare, Bart. (1787–1857), a partner in C. Hoare & Co., the only English private bank surviving from the seventeenth century.

4

Printed Books II: Illustrations

4.1. WORD AND IMAGE

As we have seen so far, the interpretive process is both shaped by, and recorded in, the physical book that carries a text in a surprising number of ways. Up to this point we have been focusing on words—both the words of Virgil's text[1] and the verbal responses to them[2]—but from the beginning of the sixteenth century Virgil's poetry was also published in illustrated editions. These pictures also form part of the physical objects through which Virgil's poetry was printed, distributed, and consumed, so they merit a separate discussion as part of our larger inquiry.

Virgil's influence on European art has received less attention than one might expect.[3] Indeed, I know of only a handful of efforts to analyse the interpretation of the *Aeneid* on the most basic level: the pictures that accompany the printed texts on which our modern understanding of the poetry is based.[4] Therefore in this chapter I shall focus on these woodcuts and engravings, beginning with the first printed editions some 500 years ago and continuing into the twentieth century. My examples come from the Junius S. Morgan Virgil collection at Princeton University, whose 750 volumes include dozens of illustrated editions.[5] My underlying premise is that the same sorts of problems that have recently bedevilled interpretations constructed in words[6] also affect how we should be dealing with

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[1] The historical development of modern philological principles can be followed in Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship 1300–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); and in the essays collected in Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), with bibliography.

[2] Recent work on the *fortuna* of Virgil is summarized in the 'Vergilian Bibliography' published annually in *Vergilius* and (for reception through the end of the Renaissance) in David Scott Wilson-Okamura, 'Virgil in Late Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance: An Online Bibliography', at <http://virgil.org/bibliography/> (accessed 13 April 2014). Work prior to 1990 is analysed in Craig Kallendorf, 'Recent Trends in the Study of Vergilian Influences', in *Vergil: The Classical Heritage*, edited by Craig Kallendorf (New York: Garland, 1993), pp. 1–20, reprinted from *Vergilius* 36 (1990): 82–98.

[3] General surveys may be found in the catalogue of an exhibition held at Rome's Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 24 September–24 November 1981, Fagiolo, *Virgilio nell'arte e nella cultura europea*; Alexander G. McKay, 'Vergil Translated into European Art', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* ser. 4 (1982): 339–56, reprinted in Kallendorf, ed., *Vergil*, pp. 345–64; and Nigel Llewellyn, 'Virgil

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and the Visual Arts', in *Virgil and His Influence*, edited by Charles Martindale (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1984), pp. 128–40.

[4] The most helpful essays that consider two or more sets of illustrations are Erich Odermann, 'Vergil und der Kupferstich', *Buch und Schrift* 5 (1931): 13–25; Ruth Mortimer, 'Vergil in the Rosenwald Collection', and Eleanor Winsor Leach, 'Illustration as Interpretation in Brant's and Dryden's Editions of Vergil', in *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald*, edited by Sandra Hindman (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1982), pp. 175–210 and 211–30, respectively; Ruth Mortimer, 'Vergil in the Light of the Sixteenth Century: Selected Illustrations', in *Vergil at 2000: Commemorative Essays on the Poet and His Influence*, edited by John D. Bernard (New York: AMS Press, 1986), pp. 159–84; and Alexander G. McKay, 'Book Illustrations of Vergil's *Aeneid* A.D. 400–1980', *The Augustan Age* 6 (1987): 227–37, with illustrations following p. 269. The essay that comes closest to what I am trying to do here is Werner Suerbaum, '*Aeneis picturis narrata—Aeneis versibus picta*: Semiotische Überlegungen zu Vergil-Illustration oder Visuelles Erzählen: Buchillustrationen zu Vergils *Aeneis*', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* ser. 3, 10 (1992): 271–334, but I am approaching the Vergilian illustrations from a different theoretical perspective. Some of the French and Italian illustrations in this chapter are also mentioned in Bernadette Pasquier, *Virgile illustré de la Renaissance à nos jours en France et en Italie* (Paris: Jean Touzot, 1992), while most of the illustrations discussed in this chapter are described in Werner Suerbaum, *Handbuch der illustrierten Vergil-Ausgaben 1502–1840: Geschichte, Typologie, Zyklen und kommentierter Katalog der Holzschnitte und Kupferstiche zur Aeneis in Alten Drucken . . .*, Bibliographien zur klassischen Philologie, 3 (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Olms, 2008).

[5] Formed by the nephew of the financier J. P. Morgan, this is one of the finest Virgil collections in the world; it contains four copies of the 1501 Aldine edition, for example, which notwithstanding its fame as the first book printed in Italic type, happens to be very rare. Detailed information about this collection may be found in Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*.

[6] These problems have been pursued on a theoretical level in the works of reader-response critics and theorists of *Rezeptionsaesthetik*, especially Iser, *The Act of Reading*; and Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. Two efforts by classicists to bring some of the issues raised here to bear on our understanding of the *Aeneid* may be found in Karl Galinsky, 'Reading Vergil's *Aeneid* in Modern Times', in *Classical and Modern Interactions: Postmodern Architecture, Multiculturalism, Decline, and Other Issues* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), pp. 74–92; and Craig Kallendorf,

visual responses to a text. I shall show first that, willingly or unwillingly, artists inevitably end up viewing a poem from the past at least in part through the same stylistic assumptions that govern how they view their own world. I shall then show, through one carefully chosen pair of examples, how the artists' political beliefs also determine, again at least in part, what they can and cannot see in the text. Finally, I suggest that attention to the illustrations that accompany the *Aeneid* reveals a constriction over time in the intended audience. In the end, the constantly changing pictorial environment, as part of the physical aspect of reception, reinforces the idea that there is not one stable, eternal form for Virgil's poetry, but a series of incarnations in which Virgil's words become a part of a Protean cultural transformation that extends from antiquity to the present.

4.2. PERIODIZATION AND VIRGILIAN ILLUSTRATION

As Charles Martindale shrewdly observes, stylistic periods have no greater claim to universal validity than do the interpretations of art and literature fashioned within them; both are cultural constructs, created at a particular point in time and subject to recreation at any time in the future.[7] Nevertheless, I believe that there is at present a certain basic agreement among art historians about how European culture might be divided into periods and about how successive responses to the artefacts of Greece and Rome might provide a rhythm to that periodization. Medieval painters and sculptors, as we all learned in school, tended to see everything in terms of their own culture, to appropriate the 'other' and make it their own—hence the Gothic statues of Jupiter as a monk and Mars as a knight from the bell tower next to the Florentine cathedral. Under the influence of humanist historians, Renaissance artists sought to envision antiquity on its own terms, to preserve its 'otherness', so that artists of this period attempted to remove themselves and their values

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'Philology, the Reader, and the *Nachleben* of Classical Texts', *Modern Philology* 92 (1994): 137–56.

[7] Martindale, *Redeeming the Text*, p. 9.

from their works.[8] Baroque artists in turn sought to focus attention on themselves, using classical subject matter as a means to show off their ability to solve technical challenges in a flurry of motion and activity; we might think, for example, of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* or his *Rape of Persephone*. It seems that in art, as in physics, actions provoke reactions, so that neoclassical artists responded by shifting attention away from themselves to their subject matter, again attempting to let the grandeur and nobility of their classical past shine forth in the pure vision of, say, David's *Oath of the Horatii*. The romantic vision shifted from public to private, from the mind to the heart—another version of action and reaction—so that classical subject matter now served as a source for pathos, which must be felt by the artist and communicated to the viewer. In other words, the way in which classical subject matter is appropriated provides a rhythm to this periodization. First the emphasis is on the artist, with the past envisioned in terms of the present. Then the emphasis is on the subject matter, as the artist attempts to suppress the present to see the past on its own terms. Next the artist returns to centre stage, then the classical subject matter, then the artist.

Admittedly oversimplified, such a narrative nevertheless seems to me to retain a certain usefulness as a starting point in our inquiry. I shall therefore begin by approaching the woodcuts and engravings from the *Aeneid* within this familiar interpretive construct. I believe, however, that the way the Virgilian material was treated in the end suggests that this narrative would benefit from a certain refinement.

Let us begin with the most famous early printed edition of Virgil, the one edited by Sebastian Brant (1457–1521) and printed by Johannes Grüninger (1455–1532) in Strasbourg.[9] This book is anchored in both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, as we might expect from its date of publication (1502). Textually it appears to be rather avant-garde: for example, the commentaries it contains include both those of the Italian humanists Antonio Mancinelli (1452–1506), Domizio Calderini (1446–78), and Cristoforo Landino (1424–98), and that of Tiberius Claudius Donatus (*c.*late fourth–early fifth century), the late-antique writer whose work was recovered by scholars of the early Renaissance. Visually, however, the book is anchored firmly into medieval art. For one thing, many of the woodcuts do not freeze a single moment in time like those of the progressive Italian artists, but record instead a series of events that must be read in chronological order. The scene from the beginning of the fifteenth-century supplement to the *Aeneid* by Maffeo Vegio (1406/7–58), for example, begins with the fall of Troy and ends with the final battle between Turnus and Aeneas—that is, it summarizes Virgil's entire poem. It should therefore not surprise us that the action Virgil described is seen through the prism of a much later culture. The characters in Figure 4.1, for example, are dressed in costumes from the turn of the sixteenth century, not from ancient Rome, and the wooden ring in the foreground, along with the suits of armour on the warriors and the pikes and swords they are using, suggest that Aeneas and Turnus are fighting according to late medieval conventions. The cities in the background look like the northern European cities that Brant and Grüninger knew, and the perspective does not conform to the emerging canons of Italian Renaissance art. The combination of textual and visual, in short, makes this book very much the product of one particular cultural moment, the passage from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.

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[8] Much worthwhile information may still be found in Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973). The larger process described in this paragraph may be traced through the essays in 'Part I: Periods', in Kallendorf, *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*.

[9] *Publii Virgilii Maronis opera* (Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1502), described in Suerbaum, *Handbuch*, pp. 131–57 (VP 1502); Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 52–3 (L1502); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 6 (LW1502.1). (In transcriptions from early printed editions, I have modernized capitalization and the usage of u/v and i/j, but I have retained the vagaries of the original orthography.) As the most famous illustrated edition of Virgil, this book has been written about a good deal; in addition to the essays cited in note 4, a basic bibliography would include T. K. Rabb, 'Sebastian Brant and the First Illustrated Edition of Vergil', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 21 (1960): 187–99; Martine Gorrichon, 'Sebastien Brant et l'illustration des oeuvres de Virgile d'après l'édition strasbourgeoise de 1502', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis*,

The blocks from the 1502 Strasbourg edition were copied in Italy and France and remained popular for several decades, but after mid-century several other series of woodcuts began to compete successfully with them.[10] One of these competing series appeared in an Italian

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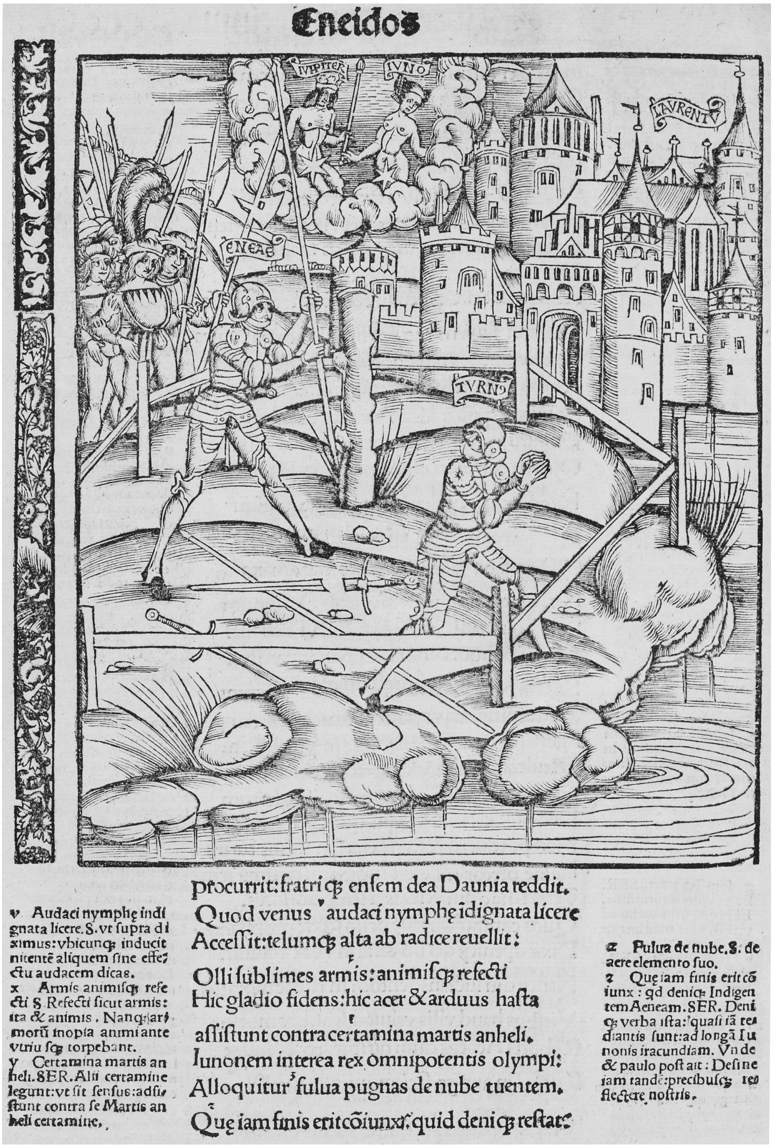
Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Amsterdam, 9–24 August 1973, edited by P. Tuynman, G. C. Kuiper, and E. Kessler (Munich: W. Fink, 1979), pp. 440–53; Bernd Schneider, '"*Vergilius pictus*": Sebastian Brants illustrierte Vergilausgabe und ihre Nachwirkung: Ein Beitrag zur Vergilrezeption im deutschen Humanismus', *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge: Aus den Schätzen der Herzog August Bibliothek* 6 (1983): 202–62; and Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, pp. 92–106. One hundred and thirty-six woodcuts from this edition are reproduced in Vergil, *Aeneis*, ed. Manfred Lemmer, trans. Johannes Götte (Leipzig: Heimeran, 1979).

[10] Mortimer, 'Vergil in the Light of the Sixteenth Century', p. 174.



Eneidos

IVPITER
IVNO
LAVRENTV
ENEAS
TVRNVS

procurrit: fratriqꝫ enſem dea Daunia reddit.
Quod venus [v] audaci nymphę īdignata licere
Acceſſit: telumqꝫ alta ab radice reuellit:
Olli ſublimes armis[x]: animiſqꝫ refecti
Hic gladio fidens: hic acer & arduus haſta
aſſiſtunt[y] contra certamina martis anheli.
Iunonem interea rex omnipotentis olympi:
Alloquitur[&] fulua pugnas de nube tuentem.
Quę[z] iam finis erit cōiunx? quid deniqꝫ reſtat?

v Audaci nymphę indignata licere. S. vt ſupra diximus: vbicunqꝫ inducit nitentē aliquem ſine effectu audacem dicas.
x Armis animiſqꝫ refecti S. Refecti ſicut armis: ita & animis. Nanqꝫ armorū inopia animi ante vtriuſqꝫ torpebant.
y Certamina martis anheli. SER. Alii certamine legunt: vt ſit ſenſus: adſiſtunt contra ſe Martis anheli certamine.

& Fulua de nube. S. de aere elemento ſuo.
z Quę iam finis erit cōiunx: qd deniqꝫ Indigentem Aeneam. SER. Deniqꝫ verba iſta: quaſi iā tędiantis ſunt: ad longā Iunonis iracundiam. Vnde & paulo poſt ait: Deſine iam tandē: precibuſqꝫ te flectere noſtris.

Fig. 4.1. *Aen.* 12.785–93. *Publii Virgilii Maronis opera* (Strasbourg: Johannes Grüninger, 1502), fol. 407v. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

translation published in Venice near the end of the century.[11] The woodcuts in this book are not of the highest quality, but they clearly reflect the norms of Italian Renaissance art. The battle scene depicted here (see Figure 4.2) represents one and only one point of action within Book 11, and it is rendered in reasonable perspective and a pleasingly balanced composition. Yet even here the effort to see Virgil's world on its own terms is not completely successful. The town in the background, for example, is not envisioned in terms of the ancient ruins that humanist scholars had by now been studying for several generations. Its most striking feature instead is the towers within the walls, which were a common feature of post-classical Italian cities and which can still be seen today in isolated towns like San Gimignano. In other words, the designer of these blocks appears to have tried to suppress the most obvious signs of his own culture. However, while he has indeed produced an effect different from that of the Strasbourg edition, he has still left enough traces of his own world view that we can place him in the culture within which he worked.

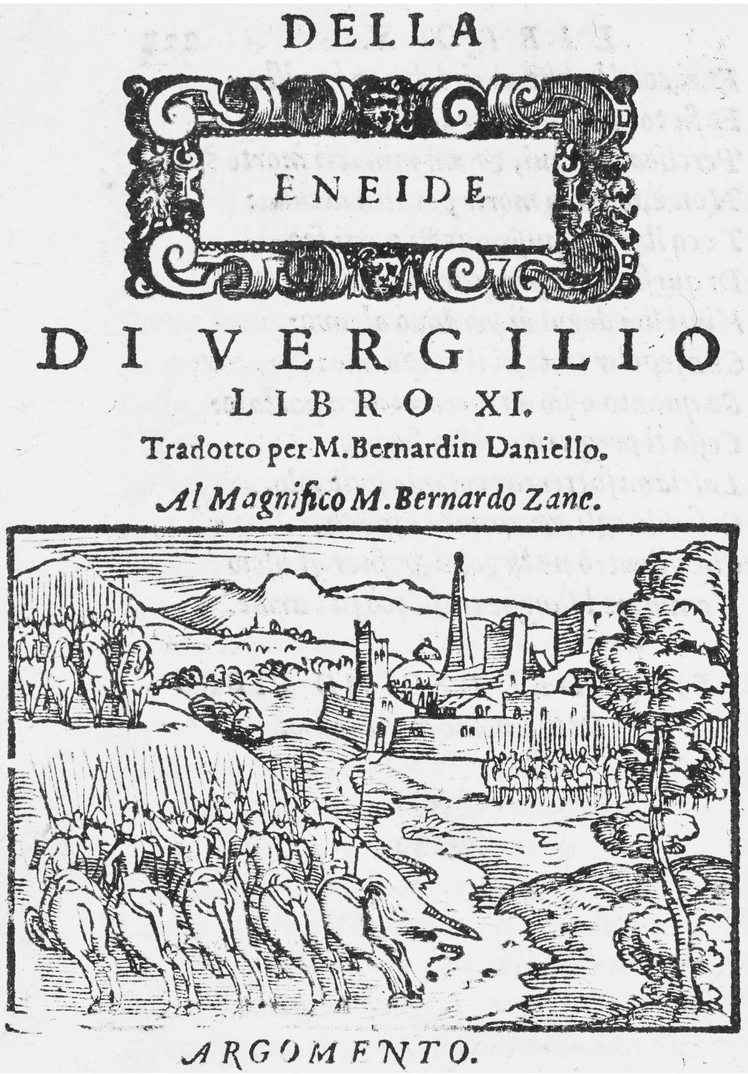
At the end of the following century, the monumental English translation of John Dryden (1631–1700) appeared, first with the baroque engravings of Franz Cleyn (*c.*1582–1658),[12] then with another series published by the same printer in 1716.[13] The scene depicted here

---

[11] *L'opere di Vergilio. cioè la Buccolica, Georgica, & Eneida. Nuovamente da diversi eccellentissimi auttori tradotte in versi sciolti*... (Venice: Giacomo Cornetti, 1586), described in Suerbaum, *Handbuch*, pp. 297–8 (VP 1586C); Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, p. 459 (I1586.1); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 250 (IW1586.1).

[12] The Cleyn engravings, which originally accompanied the translation of John Ogilby (1600–76), are discussed by Leach, 'Illustration as Interpretation', pp. 175–210; and Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, pp. 169–85. The relationship between Dryden's translation and the Ogilby–Cleyn volume may be pursued in L. Proudfoot, *Dryden's Aeneid and Its Seventeenth Century Predecessors* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960); and Reuben Brower, 'Visual and Verbal Translation of Myth: Neptune in Vergil, Rubens, Dryden', *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 155–82. See also Richard F. Thomas, 'Dryden's Virgil and the Politics of Translation', in *Virgil and the Augustan Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 122–53.

[13] *The Works of Vergil, Translated into English Verse, by Mr. Dryden, in Three Volumes*... (London: Jacob Tonson, 1716), described in Suerbaum, *Handbuch*, pp. 478–9 (VP 1716A); Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 318–19 (E1716/1–3); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 150 (EW1716.1). Some of the engravings in these volumes were executed by Gerard van der Gucht (1696–1776), others by Louis du Guernier (1677–1716), and a third group by an unknown engraver. The Latin text that accompanies this illustration and Figure 4.6 comes from one of the more carefully prepared editions of the day, *Publii Virgilii Maronis opera* (Paris: Simon Bénard, 1682), which is LW1682.1 in Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 46.



DELLA

ENEIDE

DI VERGILIO

LIBRO XI.

Tradotto per M. Bernardin Daniello.

Al Magnifico M. Bernardo Zane.

ARGOMENTO.

Fig. 4.2. Argument to *Aen.* 11. *L'opere di Vergilio* (Venice: Giacomo Cornetti, 1586), fol. 221v. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

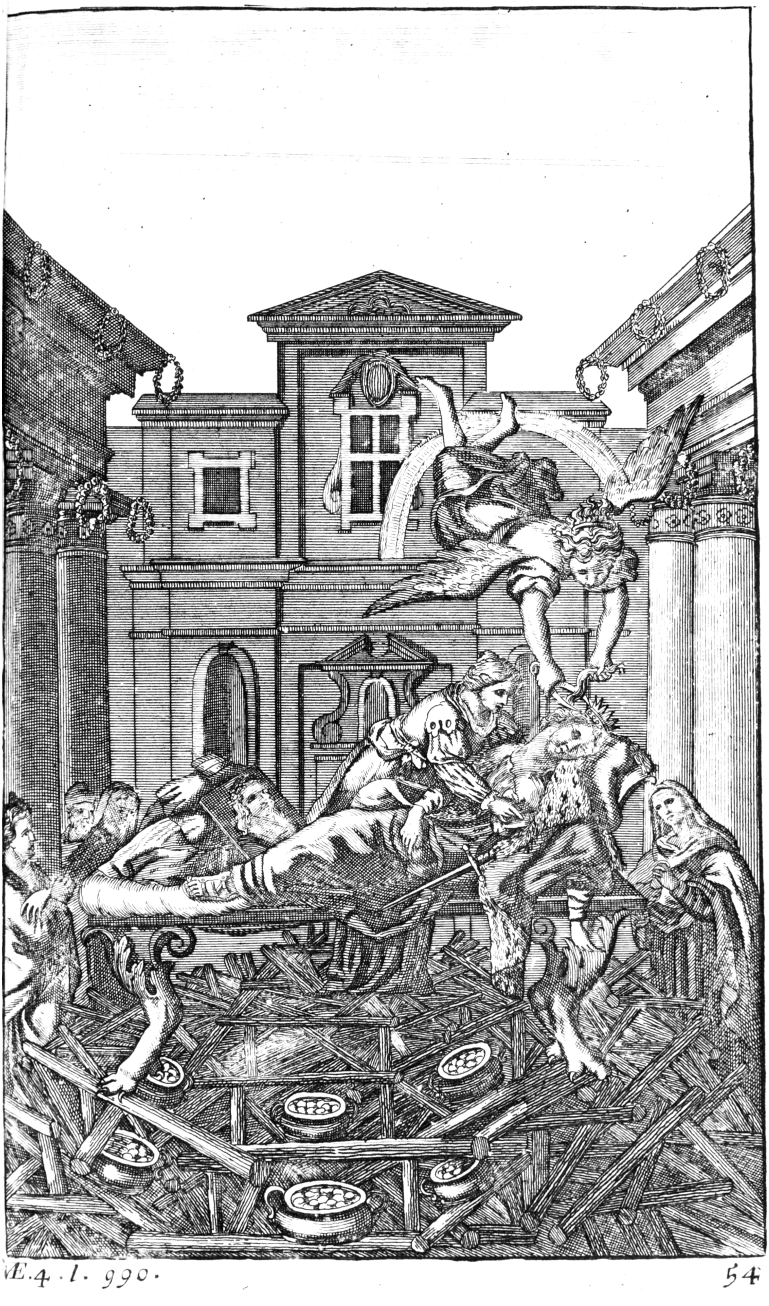


Fig. 4.3. *Aen*. 4.690–5. *The Works of Virgil, Translated into English Verse, by Mr. Dryden* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1716), vol. 2, following p. 454. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

(see Figure 4.3), the moment of Dido's death, was obviously selected to allow the flurry of movement so favoured by baroque artists:

> Ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit,
> ter revoluta toro est: oculisque errantibus, alto
> quaesivit caelo lucem, ingemuitque reperta.
> Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem
> difficilisque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
> quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus. (*Aen.* 4.690–5)
>
> (Thrice Dido try'd to raise her drooping Head,
> And fainting thrice, fell grov'ling on the Bed.
> Thrice op'd her heavy Eyes, and saw the Light,
> But having found it, sicken'd at the sight;
> And clos'd her Lids at last, in endless Night.
> Then Juno, grieving that she shou'd sustain
> A Death so ling'ring, and so full of pain;
> Sent Iris down, to free her from the Strife
> Of lab'ring Nature, and dissolve her Life.) (Dryden, 4.989–97)

This engraving is baroque in every respect. For one thing it is dominated not by Dido, but by Iris, who is depicted at the very moment of descent, which requires the greatest technical skill to render. The foreshortening is not so severe as in, say, Tintoretto's *Miracle of St Mark*, but the effect is similar as we admire the artist's skill in controlling a difficult composition. The building behind the pyre is typically baroque as well, showing the dissociation of form from function that characterizes, for example, Il Gesù in Rome. In this case the engraver clearly sees the *Aeneid* through the filter of the baroque aesthetic that dominated his culture.

It is perhaps not surprising that such a stylistically vigorous presentation would provoke a reaction. In the history of Virgilian illustration, this reaction took a turn we might not have anticipated with the publication of the *Picturae antiquissimi Virgiliani codicis Bibliothecae Vaticanae*..., of which I have used an edition from 1780–2.[14] The engravers came up with a different way of illustrating

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[14] *Picturae antiquissimi Virgiliani codicis Bibliothecae Vaticanae a Petro Sancte Bartoli aere incisae*... (Rome: Venanzio Monaldini and Johann Zempel, 1780–2), described in Suerbaum, *Handbuch*, p. 561 (VP 1782B); Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 234–5 (L1780–1782); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 67 (LW1780–1782.2). The history of these engravings is difficult to unravel. An initial group of fifty-five plates was published in 1677 under the direction of Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635–1700)

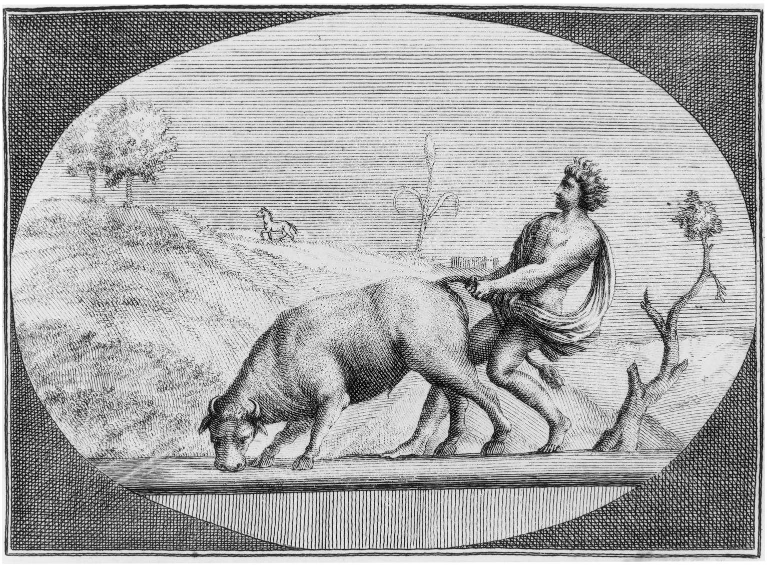

Fig. 4.4. *Aen.* 8.209–11. *Picturae antiquissimi Virgiliani codicis . . .* (Rome: Venanzio Monaldini and Johann Zempel, 1780–2), nr. 84. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

the poetry of Virgil as it would have been seen in its own time (or shortly afterwards): they reproduced scenes from two very old manuscripts, the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Romanus,[15] along with images from gems, monuments, mosaics, and other artefacts of ancient Rome. Number 84 (see Figure 4.4), for example, is engraved from a gem that depicts Cacus stealing the cattle of Hercules, a story narrated in Book 8 as Aeneas tours the future site of Rome with

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and reprinted in 1725; additional material was added to the 1741 edition, which was reprinted in 1782, but the plates were used in other editions as well, and the 124 plates in the edition I consulted were designed and engraved by a group of artists. Information about the publishing history of these engravings may be found in Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres . . .*, 5th edn, 6 vols (Paris: Didot, 1860–5), vol. 5, pt. 2, col. 1291; and Odermann, 'Vergil und der Kupferstich', p. 18.

[15] The importance of these manuscripts, which were discussed in Chapter 2, has long been recognized; recent facsimile editions and basic scholarly works include Rosenthal, *Illuminations*; Weitzman, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, pp. 32–9, 52–9; Stevenson, *Miniature Decoration*; and David Wright, 'From Copy to Facsimile: A Millennium of Studying the Vatican Vergil', *British Library Journal* 17 (1991): 12–35.

Evander (204ff.). By illustrating the *Aeneid* from an ancient gemstone, the engraver is trying to let the poem illustrate itself through evidence recovered from its own time, a strategy that should in essence eliminate the role of the post-classical interpreter.

In a certain obvious sense, it does. But a closer look at these engravings suggests that here, as elsewhere, subjectivity proves surprisingly difficult to banish. Erich Odermann observed over sixty years ago that some of the details of these engravings are 'stylized',[16] although I would explain the matter a little differently. Number 37 (see Figure 4.5), for example, 'exhibit Laocoontem ante Neptuni aedem taurum mactantem, ac dein ab anguibus impetitum una cum pueris duobus. Ex iisdem picturis. Pertinet ad lib. II. Aeneid. vers. 201' ('shows Laocoön slaying a bull before the temple of Neptune, and then attacked by the snakes together with his two sons. From the same group of pictures [i.e. the Codex Vaticanus], it illustrates *Aen.* 2.201'). The basic design comes from the manuscript, but one must admit that it ends up suiting a neoclassical temperament rather well. The composition, for example, shows signs of symmetry, with one child on either side of Laocoön, who has his arms upraised in perfect balance and the two snakes draped across his body in perfect parallelism. What is more, the figures maintain their dignity and restraint, even in an agonizing death. It is impossible not to think of this scene in comparison to the famous Hellenistic statue of Laocoön, which had been discovered several generations earlier and moved with great fanfare to the Vatican.[17] Virgil's poem, as we can see, contains a variety of aesthetic cues, and the ones to which any given interpreters respond are at least in part a function of the culture in which they live and work.

Just how complex this process can be becomes apparent when we return to Dryden's translation. Produced in baroque England, the set of illustrations we have already seen is a suitable accompaniment for the text. However, the translation itself remained popular for a long time afterward, and over its lengthy publishing history it attracted several additional sets of illustrations. One of these additional sets,

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[16] Odermann, 'Vergil und der Kupferstich', p. 18. Amanda Claridge and Ingo Herklotz, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo*, ser. A, pt. 6: *Classical Manuscript Illustrators* (London: Royal College in association with Harvey Miller Publishers, 2012), pp. 51–89, came to a similar conclusion.

[17] F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 243–7.

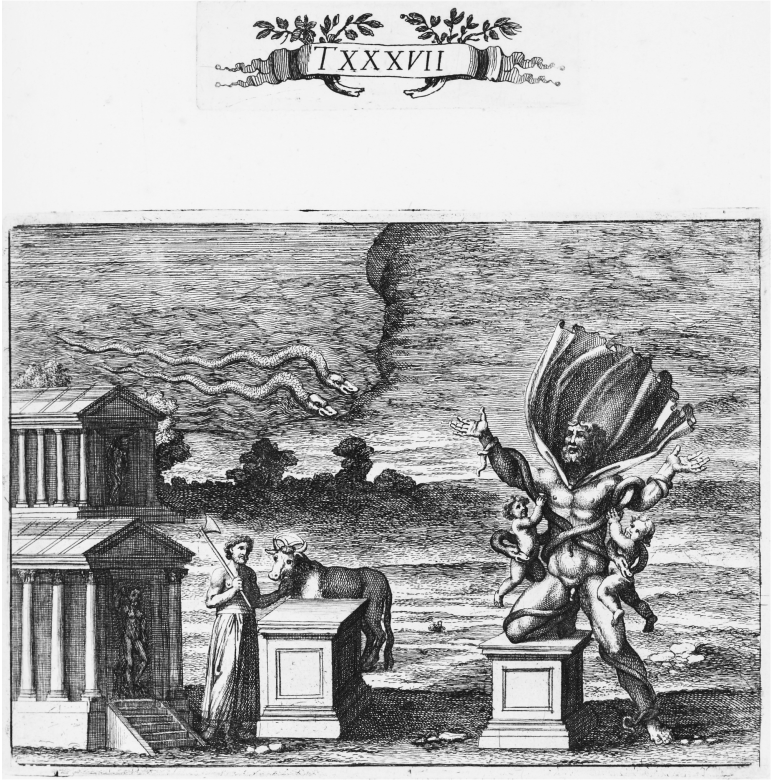

Fig. 4.5. *Aen.* 2.212–22. *Picturae antiquissimi Virgiliani codicis . . .* (Rome: Venanzio Monaldini and Johann Zempel, 1780–2), nr. 37. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

which appeared in 1802 and was republished the following year,[18] shows signs of a newly emerging romantic sensibility. For one thing, as he worked through Book 4 the illustrator has chosen to depict not the descent of Iris, but Dido's dying speech (see Figure 4.6):

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[18] *The Works of Vergil, Translated into English Verse, by Mr. Dryden . . . A New Edition, Revised and Corrected by John Carey, LL.D . . . .* (London: James Swan, Vernor and Hall, et al., 1803). This book is described in Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 338–9 (E1803/1–3); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 150 (EW1803.1).

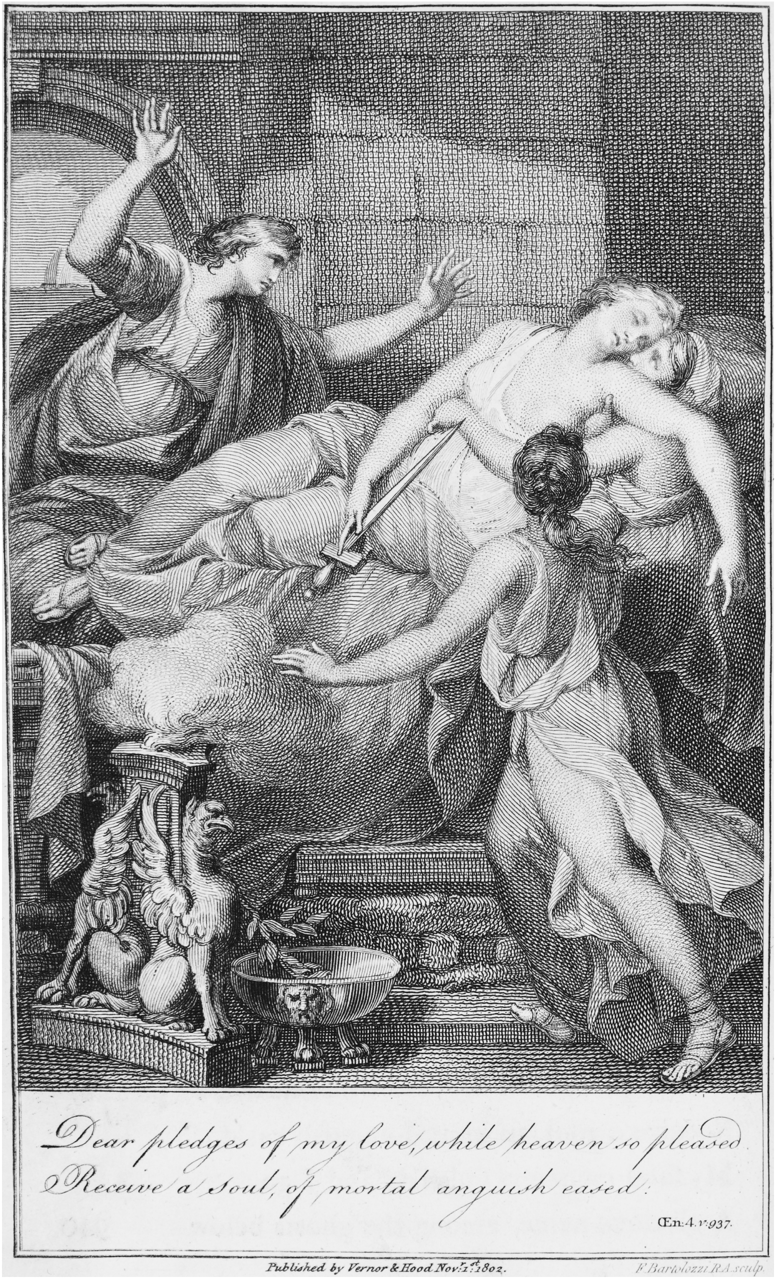
Dear pledges of my love, while heaven so pleased
Receive a soul, of mortal anguish eased:
Œn:4.v.937.
Published by Vernor & Hood Nov.r 1st 1802.
F. Bartolozzi R.A. sculp.

Fig. 4.6. *Aen.* 4.645–52. *The Works of Virgil, Translated into English Verse by Mr. Dryden* (London: James Swan, 1803), vol. 1, following p. 160. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

> Interiora domus irrumpit limina, & altos
> conscendit furibunda rogos, ensemque recludit
> Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
> Hic, postquam Iliacas vestis notumque cubile
> conspexit, paullum lacrymis & mente morata,
> incubuitque toro, dixitque novissima verba:
> 'dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebant,
> accipite hanc animam, meque his exsolvite curis'. (*Aen.* 4.645–52)
>
> (Then swiftly to the fatal place she pass'd,
> And mounts the fun'ral pyre with furious haste;
> Unsheaths the sword the Trojan left behind,
> [Not for so dire an enterprise design'd.]
> But when she view'd the garments loosely spread,
> Which once he wore, and saw the conscious bed,
> She paus'd, and, with a sigh, the robes embrac'd,
> Then on the couch her trembling body cast,
> Repress'd the ready tears, and spoke her last:
> 'Dear pledges of my love while heav'n so pleas'd,
> Receive a soul, of mortal anguish eas'd'.) (Dryden, 4.928–38)

The challenge in this scene is not the technical one of depicting motion, but the emotional one of conveying feeling. Figure 4.3 was set outdoors, but this one is set inside, so that nothing can distract us from Dido and the distraught figures around her. The people in Figure 4.3 do not appear to be deeply moved by what has happened, but the ones in this engraving clearly are. The woman in the foreground rushes towards the collapsed queen, while the one in the background throws up her arms in grief. This is the point in the narrative of greatest pathos, and the illustrator was clearly drawn to it as a vehicle for communicating the emotional content he valued in his story.

Thus, as we have seen, the conventional periodization of art history offers a reasonable beginning place for tracing changes in the stylistic paradigms through which the *Aeneid* has been viewed through the ages. This pattern, however, seems to be most helpful for the periods in which the role of the artist is foregrounded: for medieval woodcuts, in which time and space collapse into the universal present of the artist's own culture; for baroque engravings, which serve as a means for displaying the technical skill of the artist; and for illustrations of the romantic period, in which the artist strives to respond emotionally to the text and to transfer that response to the viewer. The conventional pattern, I believe, is less successful in explaining the illustrations from the Renaissance and the neoclassical age. These are the periods in which artists and scholars sought to withdraw themselves as much as possible from the process of interpretation, to see the classical past as it really was. This effort seems to fail repeatedly, for even if artists could (for example) depict an ancient city that did not resemble one of their own day, they still betrayed their aesthetic principles in the scenes they chose to depict and in the way they responded both to Virgil's poetry and to earlier renderings of it. In other words, it does not seem to be any easier for the interpreter to disappear completely from an illustration of a poem than it is to disappear completely from a verbal explication of it.

4.3. THE IDEOLOGY OF ENGRAVING

This principle holds true, I believe, on the ideological as well as the stylistic level. To show how this works, I turn to the illustrations accompanying two French translations of the *Aeneid*, the first published under the *ancien régime*, the second under Napoleon. I have chosen these two editions quite deliberately, for reasons that should become clear in the discussion that follows.

The first of these two translations is a straightforward, serious work by Pierre Perrin (*c*.1620–75).[19] The first volume was dedicated to Cardinal Mazarin (1602–61), the influential cleric and diplomat who played an important role in shaping the foreign policy of several French monarchs. This dedication, however, is no empty formality, for Perrin draws Virgil and his poetry explicitly into the service of the French state:

> En effet, Monseigneur, le siecle fameux de ce grand Autheur ne semble t'il pas revolu dans le present? Qu'est-ce maintenant que Paris, qu'une Rome triomphante, comme elle, immense dans son people & dans ses limites, comme elle, Reine des Citez, maistresse des Nations, capital du Monde? Nostre Monarque qu'un Auguste naissant, dans ses premieres

---

[19] *Leneide de Virgile fidellement traduitte in vers heroiques avec le latin a costé . . . par M. P. Perrin* . . . (Paris: Étienne Loyson, 1664), described in Suerbaum, *Handbuch*, p. 408 (VP 1664A); Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 395–6 (F1664/1–3); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 223 (FA1664.1).

> années déja le plus victorieux, déja le plus auguste des Roys? & V. Eminence, Monseigneur, qu'un fidele Moecene; comme luy Romain, comme luy son plus grande & plus cher Ministre, & le sacré Depositaire de ses secrets & de sa puissance? Pour achever ces illustres rapports, le Ciel ne devoit il pas à la France un Virgile François?
>
> (In effect, Sir, the famous century of this grand author, does it not seem to have come around again in the present? Is Paris not now a Rome triumphant, like her enormous in population and territory, like her queen of cities, mistress of nations, capital of the world? Is our monarch not a nascent Augustus, in his first years already the most victorious, already the most august of kings? And your eminence, sir, are you not a faithful Maecenas, like him a Roman, like him his most grand and the most cherished minister, and the sacred depositary of his secrets and his power? To complete these illustrious connections, does not Heaven owe France a French Vergil?)[20]

Perrin, of course, presents himself as the French Virgil, but in doing so he transfers the entire ideological framework of Virgil's Rome to seventeenth-century France. In one sense this is simply one more in a centuries-long series of attempts to use a combined *translatio studii-translatio imperii* gesture to legitimate national consciousness and governmental authority.[21] And Perrin's version, like most of its predecessors, is straightforward and unproblematic: as Virgil served and supported Augustus, so the new Virgil will also serve and support his political successor.

This *Aeneid* is the public one, the poem which was regarded as the founding document for a Western civilization that traced its sense of patriotism and national consciousness back to ancient Rome. That is, it is the literary exaltation of the group over the individual, of the need for the individual to find meaning and purpose in service to the state. The engravings that accompany Perrin's translation reinforce these values. The one that accompanies Book 2 (see Figure 4.7), for example, is at first glance an unremarkable depiction of Aeneas leading his father and son from the burning buildings of Troy. But Aeneas is dwarfed by the scene around him; what matters, the artist seems to be saying, is his role as citizen of the city, as part of a group. In a similar way, the other engravings in this edition are group scenes: the one

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[20] *Leneide de Virgile*, ff. ã3r–v.

[21] A richly documented account of this process may be found in Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*.

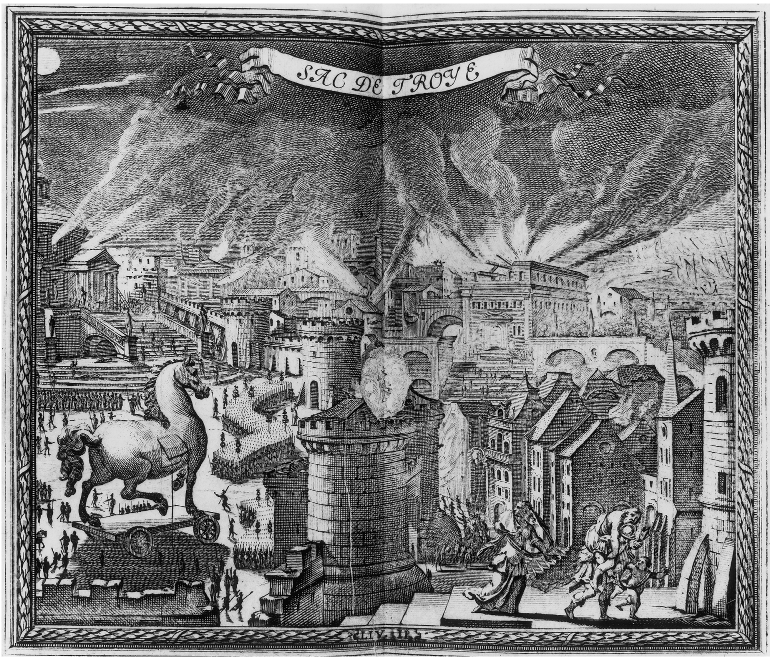

Fig. 4.7. *Aen.* 2.721–5. *Leneide de Virgile fidellement traduitte . . . par M. P. Perrin* (Paris: Estienne Loyson, 1664), vol. 1, following p. 70. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

accompanying Book 4 places Dido's funeral pyre before the city of Carthage, the one accompanying Book 5 places the athletic games of the Trojan youth before the assembled army, the one accompanying Book 6 places Charon's boat before the mass of souls in Hell, and so forth. In each case the engravings situate the individual characters in relation to the social and political units to which they belong, reminding us that individuals have obligations to those who depend on them. The illustrations, in other words, reinforce the dedication in its attempt to highlight those features in the *Aeneid* which can be seen as supporting the claims of the state to the allegiance of its people.

The same poem, however, can also be appropriated by those who stand in opposition to the political order of their day. One such malcontent was Victor-Alexandre-Chrétien Leplat (b.1672), a Flemish poet who published a travesty of Virgil in his native language in 1802, then in French in 1807–8. His *Virgile en France* is not a translation per se, but rather an effort to adapt the *Aeneid* to the events of the French Revolution of 1789. Lest any of his readers miss the analogies, Leplat supplied a commentary that explains his text in great detail, complete with bibliographical references to standard histories of the period.[22]

In this translation and commentary, the fall of Troy in Book 2 is rewritten into an account of the overthrow of the French monarchy, beginning with the convocation of the Estates General, continuing with the arrest of the King and the 'Sac de Troie par les jacobins', and ending with the death of the King and general ruin. Leplat's sympathies are clearly with the old order:

> On vit toutes les horreurs qui ont lieu dans les guerres civiles; des pères denouncer leurs fils, des fils accuser leurs pères, des frères trahir leurs frères et des neveux leurs oncles, pour envahir leurs biens et leur succession; des domestiques trahir, calomnier leurs maîtres, etc. Ces crimes étaient regardés comme des actes de civisme qui méritaient des recompenses. Le fanatisme politique produit les memes effets que le fanatisme religieux.[23]
>
> (One sees all the horrors that take place in civil wars; fathers denounce their sons, sons accuse their fathers, brothers betray their brothers and nephews their uncles, to usurp their goods and their succession; servants betray and slander their masters, etc. These crimes were regarded as acts of civic duty that deserve rewards. Political fanaticism produces the same effects as religious fanaticism.)

Leplat sees the revolutionaries not as noble idealists, but as greedy opportunists who would betray anyone and anything for personal gain. The cause of all this is fanaticism, especially in the lower classes:

> La société des jacobins, bonne dans son origine, offre un exemple terrible du danger des sociétés populaires, et de la marche rapide du people armé du pouvoir, vers l'anarchie qui est la mere de la tyrannie, qui exerça ses ravages en France pendant quinze mois, avec une fureur dont aucun ouragan politique n'offre l'exemple dans l'histoire des peuples.[24]

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[22] *Virgile en France, ou la nouvelle Énéide, poëme héroï-comique en style franco-gothique,... par Le Plat du Temple...* (Brussels: Weissenbruch, 1807–8), described in Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 426–7 (F1807–1808/1–2); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 335 (T1807–1808.1). Information on Leplat may be found in the article by Ed. van Even in *Biographie nationale*, 11 vols (Brussels: L'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1890–1), vol. 11, cols. 884–6. Leplat's travesty is treated at length in Kallendorf, *The Other Virgil*, pp. 196–212.

[23] *Virgile en France*, 1:176.

[24] *Virgile en France*, 1:188.

> (The society of the Jacobins, good in its origin, offers a terrible example of the danger of popular societies and of the rapid march of people armed with power towards the anarchy which is the mother of tyranny, which exercised its ravages in France for fifteen months with a furore which is not exemplified by any political hurricane in the history of nations.)

According to Leplat, empowering the lower classes leads to anarchy and tyranny, then to a new government that rests on the worst excesses of human depravity.

To illustrate this political vision, the engraver turned to the image of the orator calming the crowd in Book 1 of the *Aeneid*. In Virgil the crowd is first agitated by sedition, then calmed by an orator of pious dignity. In Leplat's travesty, however, the focus remains on the first part of the image. The illustrator quotes only the lines describing the sedition and its effect on the crowd (148–50), then shows a personification of the state threatened by all sorts of related dangers (see Figure 4.8): hypocrisy, greed, vengeance, treason, impiety, famine, plague, and the like. It is sedition, however, that topples the *ancien régime*, as we see in Leplat's description of the death of Elisabeth, the sister of Louis XVI. She refused to leave her brother's side, and when the 'brigands' surrounded his castle, she stood firmly beside the King and Queen, 'haranguing the seditious with the grandest determination' ('haranguant les séditieux avec la plus grande fermeté'). Handed over in the end to a revolutionary tribunal, she mounted the scaffold with the calmness of virtue and dignity proper to her rank, perishing (in Leplat's view) as a victim to fraternal love.[25]

From the perspective of the French government at the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, these sentiments were seditious, and agents of Napoleon tried to seize the entire press run and destroy it shortly after the first two volumes appeared. The French translation was never finished, but Leplat responded by publishing a satire on Napoleon and his family, which appeared anonymously in London in 1814 under the title *Les Voilà*.[26] In this case, the French government recognized that Leplat's political vision was dangerously subversive, and that he had appropriated the *Aeneid* in support of his opposition to what the authorities now saw as the legitimate succession of power.

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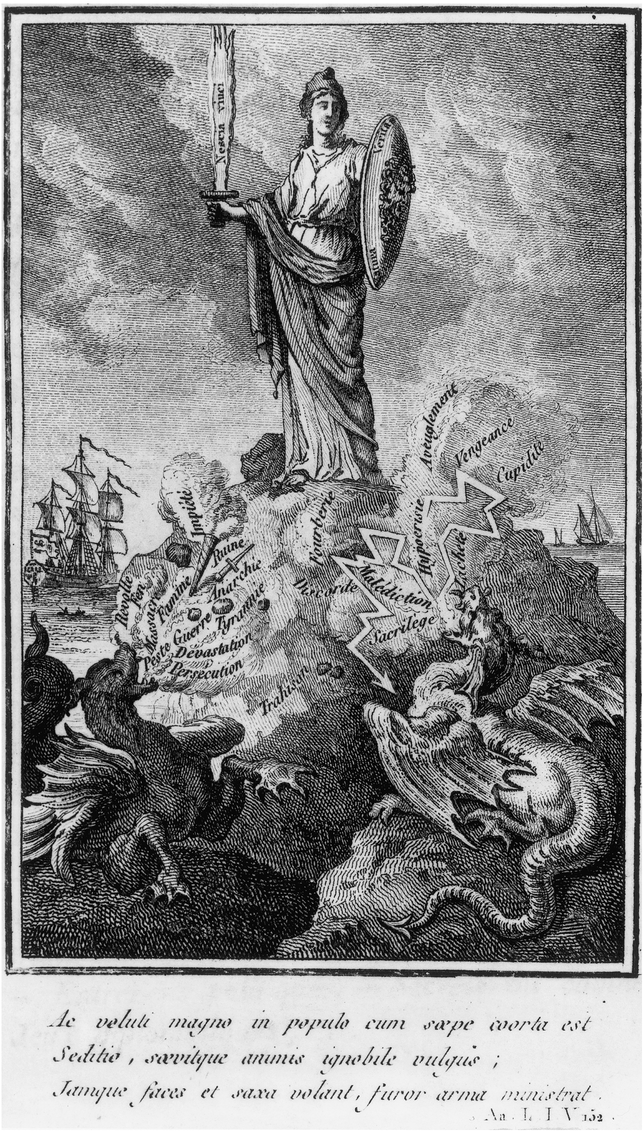
[25] *Virgile en France*, 1:76.

[26] Van Even, 'Victor-Alexandre-Chrètien Leplat', vol. 11, cols. 885–6.


Nescia vinci
Veritas
Révolte
Fer
Massacre
Famine
Impiété
Ruine
Anarchie
Tyrannie
Peste
Guerre
Dévastation
Persécution
Trahison
Discorde
Fourberie
Malédiction
Sacrilège
Hypocrisie
Aveuglement
Vengeance
Cupidité
Lâcheté

Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.
Æn. L. I V. 152.

Fig. 4.8. *Aen*. 1.148–50. Victor-Alexandre-Chrétien Leplat. *Virgile en France* (Brussels: Weissenbruch, 1807–8), vol. 1, before p. 1. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

I would like to make two points regarding this pair of translations. First, we must recognize that even after centuries have passed and ancient Rome has given way to the modern nation state, illustrations of works like the *Aeneid* remain ideologically committed, for translators and engravers end up viewing Virgil through the concerns of their own day. Second, Virgil's poetry is open to appropriation by all sorts of interest groups. Modern scholarship has suggested that the *Aeneid* has been used more to prop up authoritarian governments than to embolden those who challenge them,[27] and I suspect this is probably true. Yet as the example of Leplat shows, the same poem that was explicitly embraced by the French government could be recast less than 150 years later into a profoundly subversive form. Like stylistic and aesthetic norms, ideological commitments leave their traces in the history of Virgilian illustration.

4.4. THE QUESTION OF AUDIENCE

As we have seen, woodcuts and engravings are a part of the physical form of a book that can tell us a great deal about the reception of the *Aeneid*—about the series of interpretations made over time whose history connects the poem and its own culture to later readers. It is clear, however, that different kinds of people read the *Aeneid* at different points in the past, as our study has repeatedly shown. Careful attention to the illustrations accompanying the text can also help us here, for I suggest that changes in the audience to whom these illustrations were directed reveal changes in Virgil's position in Western culture—changes that parallel what we saw in Chapter 3.

Let us first return to the woodcuts in the 1502 Strasbourg edition. A folio edition containing five detailed commentaries in Latin, this book was obviously aimed at a learned market, and the annotations in, for example, the copies now at the Princeton University Library confirm that it was indeed used by educated readers.[28] A poem at the end of the volume, however, reveals that Brant envisioned the widest possible audience for this book and that he added the pictures to make the poem accessible to the unlearned:

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[27] This point is taken up by Waswo, *The Founding Legend of Western Civilization*. See also Kallendorf, *The Other Virgil*.

[28] The first copy at Princeton contains extensive marginal and interlinear notes by a series of early readers; the second copy contains occasional notes in at least two sixteenth-century hands, presumably left by monks in the Augustinian monastery in Bruges, where the book remained until the institution was closed in 1822.

> Virgilium exponant alii sermone diserto.
>   et calamo pueris: tradere et ore iuvent.
> Pictura agresti voluit Brant: atque tabellis:
>   edere eum indoctis: rusticolisque viris.
> Nec tamen abiectus labor hic: nec prorsus inanis.
>   Nam memori servat mente figura librum.[29]

> (Let others explain Virgil in eloquent speech and be pleased to hand him down to boys in written and spoken form; Brant wished to publish him for unlearned and peasant folk in rustic pictures and drawings. Nevertheless, this task is neither lowly nor wholly useless, for the picture preserves the book in the remembering mind.)

A woodcut from Book 6 of the *Aeneid* (see Figure 4.9), for example, would be accessible even to someone who could not read the few words of Latin in it. The individuals are from Virgil's 'lugentes campi' ('fields of mourning'), and it is not difficult to guess that this might be the underworld and that the people there are not happy. For those who could read Latin, the commentary of Landino that accompanies the text would develop in detail the parallels between Virgil's underworld and Christian theology. Uneducated readers, in other words, could get the general idea from the pictures, and learned readers could use the pictures to fix key points in their memories. In this edition, the pictures suggest that Virgil's poetry would have attracted readers from a wide variety of social classes.[30]

The next engraving (see Figure 4.10) accompanies an edition of the *Aeneid* published in London in 1753.[31] At first glance it would seem that this edition should make Virgil more accessible than the Strasbourg one of 250 years earlier, for here the Latin text is accompanied

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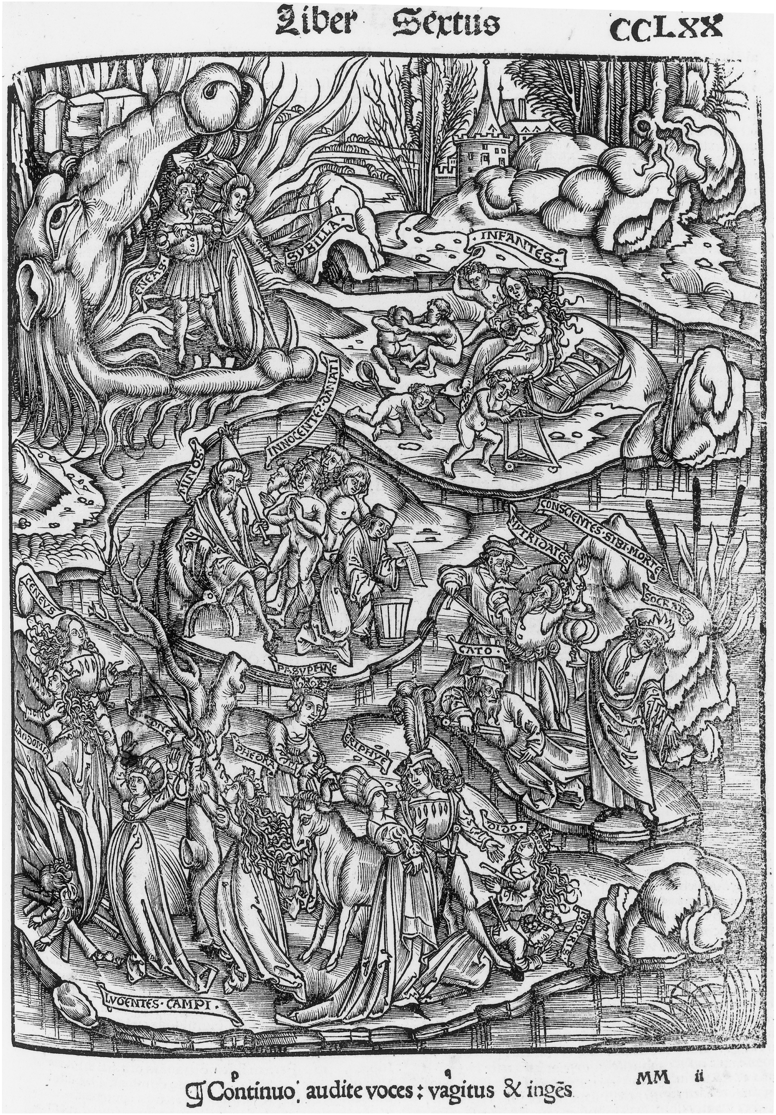
[29] *Publii Virgilii Maronis opera*, part 2, f. 33v. The first four lines are quoted by Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, pp. 104–5, whose translation I have used here.

[30] Further discussion of which social classes provided readers for the *Aeneid* in the Renaissance may be found in my *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 140–204.

[31] *The Works of Vergil, in Latin and English . . . The Aeneid Translated by the Rev. Mr. Christopher Pitt, the Eclogues and Georgics, with Notes on the Whole, by the Rev. Mr. Joseph Warton . . .* (London: Robert Dodsley, 1753), described in Suerbaum, *Handbuch*, pp. 521–2 (VP 1753E); Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 328–30 (E1753.1/1–4); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 151 (EW1753.1).


ENEAS
SYBILLA
INFANTES
INNOCENTER·DAMNATI
MINOS
CONSCIENTES·SIBI·MORTE
MITRIDATES
SOCRATES
CATO
PASYPHAE
PHEDRA
ERIPHYE
CENEUS
LAODOMIA
DIDO
PROCRIS
LVGENTES·CAMPI

Liber Sextus CCLXX

Continuo audite voces: vagitus & ingēs MM ii

Fig. 4.9. *Aen.* 6.426–51. *Publii Virgilii Maronis opera* (Strasbourg: Johannes Grüninger, 1502), fol. 270r. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

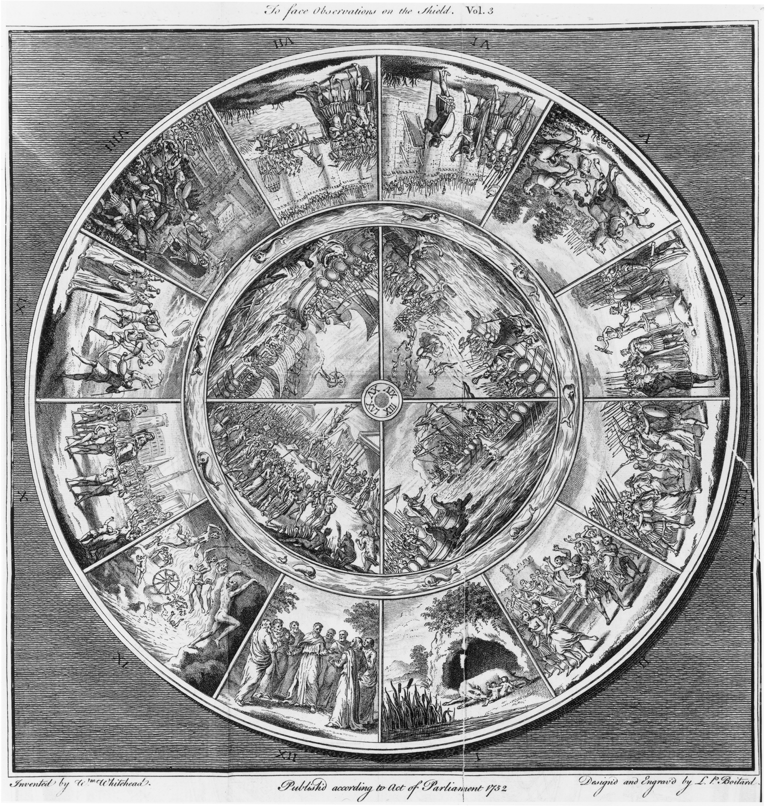

To face Observations on the Shield. Vol. 3
VII
VI
X
XII
I
Invented by Wm Whitehead.
Publish'd according to Act of Parliament 1752
Design'd and Engrav'd by L. P. Boitard.

Fig. 4.10. *Aen.* 8.626–728. *The Works of Virgil* (London: B. Dodsley, 1753), vol. 3, following p. 453. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

by the English translation of Christopher Pitt (1699–1748). A closer look at the two books, however, leads me in the end to a different conclusion. Brant's woodcuts are accompanied by (among other things) the commentary of Landino, which was designed to accommodate Virgil to the common Christian values of fifteenth-century culture. The engraving reproduced from the Pitt translation is accompanied by a learned treatise, 'Observations on the Shield of Aeneas' by William Whitehead (1715–85), that serves as a commentary to the end of Book 8. This commentary is necessary because the events depicted on Aeneas's shield, which were once well known to every schoolboy with a basic humanist education, were less familiar 200 years later. What is more, Whitehead wants to show that the scenes selected by Virgil were not 'thrown down at random', but 'in reality form a kind of regular whole'. To show that these scenes are 'actually interconnected with one another',[32] Whitehead must interpret Virgil's vision of his own past, and he does so from within the Enlightenment paradigm favoured by the educated Englishmen of his day. Certain principles, he feels, emerge from Virgil's account: treaties are honoured, liberty resists tyranny, public virtues outweigh private ones, and religion protects the state. 'Whether this really was the case, with regard to Rome, we are not to consider: It is so represented by the poet', Whitehead writes, 'and if we take his word for the truth of it, I am sure we need not wonder at any pitch of greatness to which such a state arrived'.[33] In other words, Whitehead starts by claiming that he is merely recording what Virgil thought, but then his own moral optimism creeps in through the back door ('I am sure we need not wonder at any pitch of greatness to which such a state arrived'). The illustration is therefore anchored just as firmly in Enlightenment England as it is in Virgil's text, and this helps explain its somewhat limited appeal. By this point, as we have seen in Chapter 3, wealthy gentlemen were still placing elegantly bound copies of Virgil in their libraries, but they no longer had the easy familiarity with the text that was required when command of Latin and a commonplace book filled with quotations were the necessary property of anyone who wanted to make his way in the world.

Not all renderings of the *Aeneid* are as serious as Pitt's translation, with its accompanying illustrations and scholarly apparatus. Among the most skilful of the less serious treatments is the travesty of Aloys Blumauer (1755–98), which was popular in the eighteenth century and still being reprinted in 1841, when it was accompanied by thirty-six illustrations by Franz von Seitz (1817–83).[34] The one reproduced here (see Figure 4.11) comes at the point in the descent to the underworld

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[32] William Whitehead, 'Observations on the Shield of Aeneas', in *The Works of Vergil*, 3:457–8.

[33] Whitehead, 'Observations on the Shield of Aeneas', 3:477–8.

[34] *Virgils Aeneis travestiert von A. Blumauer in neuen Gesängen mit 36 Skizzen von Franz Seitz*... (Leipzig: K. F. Köhler, 1841), described in Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, p. 443 (G1841); and Kallendorf, *A Bibliography*, p. 337 (T1841.1). The travesty of Leplat, discussed in Section 4.3, was inspired in part by Blumauer (van Even, 'Victor-Alexandre-Chrètien Leplat', vol. 11, col. 885).

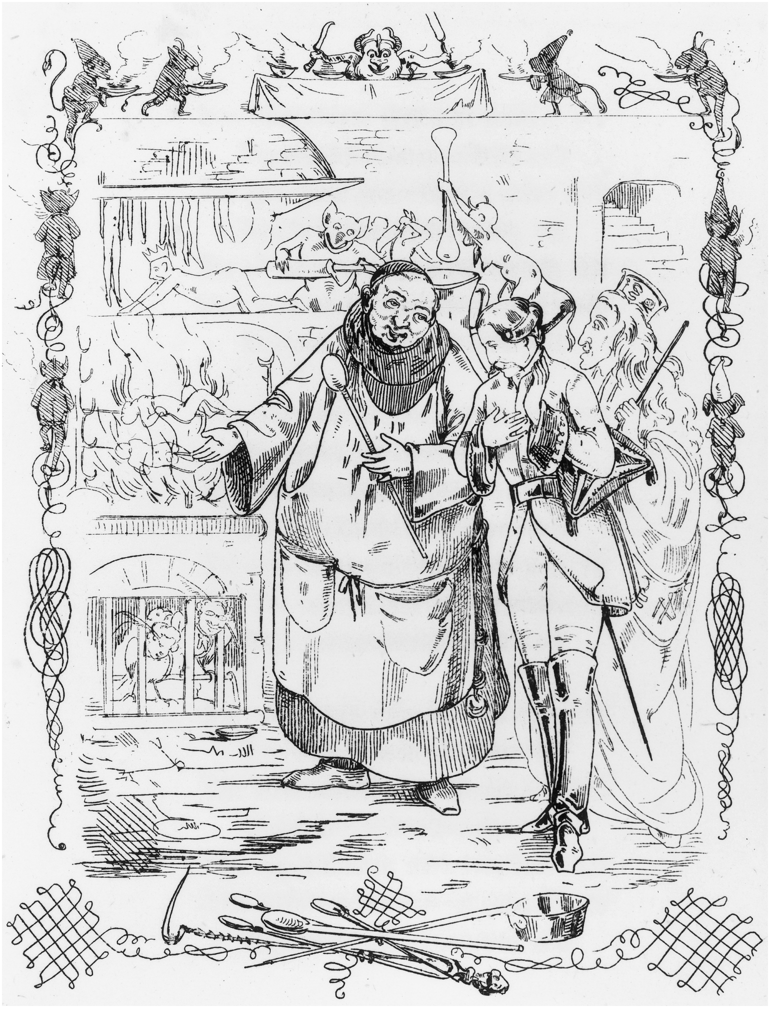

Fig. 4.11. *Aen.* 6. *Virgils Aeneis travestiert von A. Blumauer* (Leipzig: K. F. Köhler, 1841), following p. 184. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

when Aeneas and the Sibyl reach the fork in the road. Aeneas asks to see lower Hell first and his wish is granted, at which point he and the Sibyl meet Satan. The entire scene has a distinctly Alice-in-Wonderland quality, with a dandified hero and tiny devils frolicking about. Satan is presented as an infernal cook, with a description of Hell as a kitchen that has more than a little of Dante's spirit as well:

> Die große Höllenküche sah
> Der Held nicht ohne Regung.
> Viel tausend Hände waren da
> So eben in Bewegung,
> Um für des Satans leckere
> Gefräßigkeit ein groß Soupé
> Auf heute zu bereiten.
>
> Als Oberküchenmeister stand
> Mit einem Herz von Eisen
> Hier Pater Kochem, und erfand
> Und ordnete die Speisen.
> Er ging beständig hin und her,
> Und kommandirt' als Oberer
> Das Küchenpersonale.
>
> Hier sott man Wucherseelen weich,
> Dort wurden Advokaten
> Gespickt, da sah man Domherrnbäuch'
> In großen Pfannen braten;
> Und dort stieß man zu köstlichen
> Kraftsuppen die berühmtesten
> Genies in einem Mörser.
>
> Hier böckelt man Prälaten ein,
> Dort Frikassirt man Fürsten,
> Da hackt man große Geister Klein
> Zu Cervellate-Würsten,
> Da hängt man Schmeichler in den Rauch,
> Und räuchert sie, dort macht man auch
> Aus Kutscherseelen Rostbeef.[35]

(The hero saw the great kitchen of Hell and did not remain unmoved. Many thousand hands were there in motion just so, in order to prepare a grand banquet today for Satan's tasty gluttony.

Here 'Father Cook 'em' stood as supreme head chef, with a heart of iron, devising and ordering the dishes. He went about constantly here and there, and as the boss gave orders to the kitchen staff.

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[35] *Virgils Aeneis*, pp. 184–6.

> Here usurers were boiled soft, there lawyers were larded, and there one saw prebendary paunches frying in large pans; and there the most famous geniuses were ground in a mortar to a costly, strong broth.
>
> Here clerics are turned to salt meat, there princes are fricasseed, there great minds are chopped into small pieces of salami, there flatterers are hung in the smoke and cured, there roast beef is made of coachmen.)

This is all most amusing indeed, but it suggests that by the nineteenth century the *Aeneid* was playing a new role in European culture. Many educated people still knew the story; otherwise the parody would not seem funny. But many of them no longer took it seriously as a central source of moral or spiritual guidance.

The impression that Virgil was growing more and more marginalized is confirmed by the last illustration I would like to consider (see Figure 4.12). This picture accompanies a late twentieth-century Polish translation of the *Aeneid*.[36] Like the one accompanying Perrin's seventeenth-century French translation, it depicts the siege of Troy in Book 2, but it does so in a strikingly different way. The French translation invokes the entire ideological apparatus of the *ancien régime*, and that is serious business—so serious that the effort to illustrate part of it requires two facing pages. When the same material in the Polish translation is squeezed on to a narrow band at the top of one page, the effect of grandeur is lost. What is more, the approach in the illustration to the Polish translation is fanciful rather than serious, with little stick figures clambering up the side of the horse and the walls of the city. The snakes closing in on Laocoön dwarf the bull behind him, and there is no effort to make any of this appear realistic. There is no reason, of course, that an illustration of the *Aeneid* should be realistic, but when realism disappears, it takes with it the assumption that art is bound to everyday life in immediate, easily accessible ways. This illustration and the others that go along with it suggest that in our day the *Aeneid* is not central to the ideals and values of many people. Indeed, Ruth Mortimer confirms this conclusion by noting that most twentieth-century illustrators have turned from the *Aeneid* to the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* because they have been 'interested

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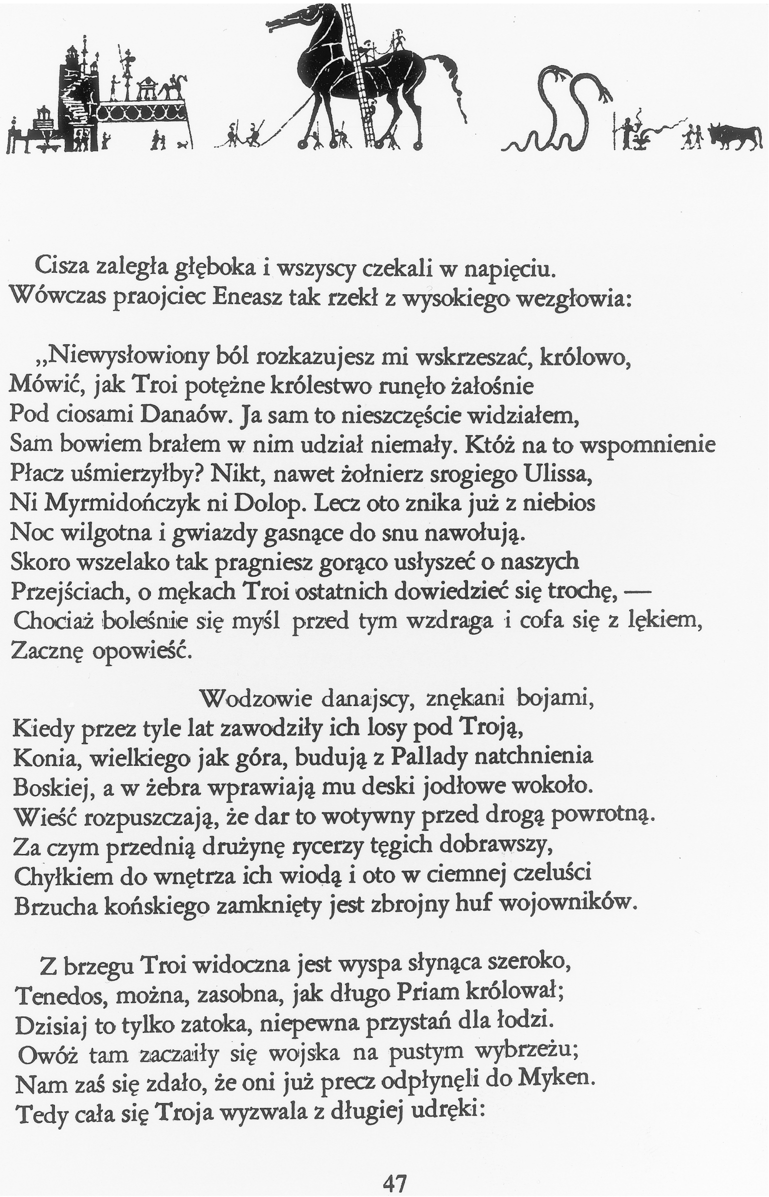
[36] *Wergiliusz (Publius Vergilius Maro) Eneida . . .* (London: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 1971), described in Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, p. 505 (O(Pl)1971).



Cisza zaległa głęboka i wszyscy czekali w napięciu.
Wówczas praojciec Eneasz tak rzekł z wysokiego wezgłowia:

„Niewysłowiony ból rozkazujesz mi wskrzeszać, królowo,
Mówić, jak Troi potężne królestwo runęło żałośnie
Pod ciosami Danaów. Ja sam to nieszczęście widziałem,
Sam bowiem brałem w nim udział niemały. Któż na to wspomnienie
Płacz uśmierzyłby? Nikt, nawet żołnierz srogiego Ulissa,
Ni Myrmidończyk ni Dolop. Lecz oto znika już z niebios
Noc wilgotna i gwiazdy gasnące do snu nawołują.
Skoro wszelako tak pragniesz gorąco usłyszeć o naszych
Przejściach, o mękach Troi ostatnich dowiedzieć się trochę, —
Chociaż boleśnie się myśl przed tym wzdraga i cofa się z lękiem,
Zacznę opowieść.

Wodzowie danajscy, znękani bojami,
Kiedy przez tyle lat zawodziły ich losy pod Troją,
Konia, wielkiego jak góra, budują z Pallady natchnienia
Boskiej, a w żebra wprawiają mu deski jodłowe wokoło.
Wieść rozpuszczają, że dar to wotywny przed drogą powrotną.
Za czym przednią drużynę rycerzy tęgich dobrawszy,
Chyłkiem do wnętrza ich wiodą i oto w ciemnej czeluści
Brzucha końskiego zamknięty jest zbrojny huf wojowników.

Z brzegu Troi widoczna jest wyspa słynąca szeroko,
Tenedos, można, zasobna, jak długo Priam królował;
Dzisiaj to tylko zatoka, niepewna przystań dla łodzi.
Owóż tam zaczaiły się wojska na pustym wybrzeżu;
Nam zaś się zdało, że oni już precz odpłynęli do Myken.
Tedy cała się Troja wyzwala z długiej udręki:

47

Fig. 4.12. *Aen.* 2.1ff. *Wergiliusz (Publius Virgilius Maro) Eneida* (London: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 1971), p. 47. Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

less in national origins, epic, and the daily life of the gods than in an escape into a supposedly idyllic country life'.[37]

The 1502 Strasbourg edition was designed, as its editor notes, to be accessible to a wide range of readers, so that both the educated and the uneducated could find in it a common cultural experience. The Pitt translation and its accompanying illustrations suggest that the poem still mattered, but to far fewer people. The Blumauer parody indicates that by the time it was published, Virgil's poem was ceasing to matter in any serious way, and the illustrations to the Polish translation suggest that by the late twentieth century the *Aeneid* held an increasingly marginal position in Western culture.

As we have seen, then, illustrations provide an important part of the reading experience for those who have encountered the *Aeneid* through the ages. In some cases the illustrators sought to envision the poem as it would have been seen by the readers of Virgil's day, while in others they felt more comfortable filtering it through their own culture. In either case, a visual interpretation functions like a verbal one, such that the *Aeneid* comes alive when something Virgil wrote resonates with the political beliefs, ideological valences, or aesthetic style of a reader. Sometimes the result is a book that sits firmly at the cultural centre, while at other times the book places Virgil at the cultural margins. Invariably, however, we need the whole book—words and pictures, binding and type font, margins both blank and annotated—to track the reception of Virgil's poetry through the ages. And inevitably this succession of illustrated books underscores the impermanence of reception, as one vision of the text gives way to another in a never-ending progression of images.

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[37] Ruth Mortimer, 'Vergil in the Rosenwald Collection', p. 221.

5

Computers

5.1. INTRODUCTION

For anyone alive at the beginning of the twenty-first century, there is little question that widespread computerization offers just as profound a transformation in the history of textual production as the passage from handwritten manuscripts to printed books did. I am old enough to remember, barely, what the world of books was like before word processing, computerized typesetting, and online publication, and while I am glad that the early reports of the death of the printed book prove to have been exaggerated, I also do not know anyone who wants to return to carbon paper and linotype machines. What is perhaps less clear as we move further into this transitional period is that the computer is not simply allowing us to do the same things more quickly and efficiently, but is also altering the deep structures of our world, affecting the way we think and strengthening certain social, political, and cultural changes that have developed more or less simultaneously with it.

My goal in this chapter is to demonstrate how Virgilian reception in its materialized forms has participated in this changing environment. Since we are only at the beginning of this revolution in textual production, this chapter will inevitably be shorter and more speculative than Chapter 2 for example, which rests on more than a thousand years of manuscript evidence. I shall nevertheless be as precise as I can about the current configurations of this virtual Virgil, before offering some thoughts about where I think computerization will take the reproduction and interpretation of Virgil's poetry over the next generation or two. I shall conclude with some general observations on how I think these points provide a path towards a different sort of reception study than is generally seen today.

5.2. POSTMODERN TEXTUALITIES

In his influential *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, Marshall McLuhan argues that within the Western tradition print culture is linear.[1] What he means by this is that in a book, the pages are attached sequentially and a reader is normally expected to process them in order; one can dip in and out of a book, which tools like the index even encourage, but the normal path is still from line to line, then page to page, front to back. The physical structure of a printed book thus tends to favour a certain intellectual structure, in which a line of reasoning goes from point to point, beginning to end, sequentially. The line of reasoning can be qualified, but then forward progress normally resumes. The medium also favours a consistent point of view along the way. A novel, for example, often presents the same series of events through the eyes of several characters, but the perspective of the narrator usually controls the plot line. In addition, the unidirectionality of print fosters a certain authoritarianism, in the sense that the forward flow of argument from a consistent perspective tends to reinforce the idea being put forth by the author, at the expense of possible challenges that might arise from other perspectives. Print, in other words, favours the construction of grand narratives, big ideas that seek to explain something in a way that seems definitive from within the linear logic and unifying perspective of the writer.

This is what we have seen regarding Virgilian textual criticism and interpretation. Work on Virgil's text during the early modern period began with the effort to recover what Virgil actually wrote, and the narrative line involves progress towards, then implementation of, the Lachmann method as a way of systematically jettisoning the interventions into the text that had been introduced over the centuries. These interventions were identified in relation to the sequential evolution of the stemma, then dismissed as errors. Interpretation was also guided by a linear vision of what Virgil was understood to have intended. This led to a reading of the poem that stressed the praiseworthy virtue of Aeneas and of his successor Augustus. Sensitive critics acknowledged that Virgil showed unusual sympathy for other perspectives within the poem, but the viewpoint of Aeneas always prevailed, making the poem into a record of his steady forward progress towards the attainment of *pietas*.

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[1] McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, pp. 125, 146, and 175. This point is developed regularly by others who write on electronic and print culture: see, for example, Jay David Bolter, *Writing Space: The Computer, Hypertext, and the History of Writing* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991), pp. 24–5, 41, 108–9, and 112–13.

As we have seen, however, the dissonant chords in these two grand narratives began sounding more loudly at the end of the twentieth century. The Lachmann method did not produce in practice the uniform results called for in theory, so that by the 1990s some textual critics were arguing not only that it is impossible to recover what Virgil originally wrote, but that we should not even try, that the interventions of censors, editors, and readers—the other voices in fashioning texts—are worth studying in and of themselves. A decade or so before that, Virgilian critics were paying greater attention to the other voices in the text, to perspectives other than Aeneas's, again suggesting that we will never know whether Virgil had intended to flatter Augustus or warn him, and that we should therefore stop trying to find out. The challenges to these grand narratives were not born in full armour from the head of Zeus, as it were, but had always been present. The linearity of print culture had served to drive them systematically to the margins, but by the end of the twentieth century the centre was failing to hold, allowing ideas like McGann's social construction of texts and the so-called 'pessimistic' reading of the *Aeneid* to challenge the traditional approaches on more or less equal terms.

At approximately the same time as these ideas took hold, an alternative to the printed book emerged, one that offers 'a web of linked lexias', a 'network of alternative routes (as opposed to print's fixed, unidirectional page turning)', and 'presents a radically different technology, interactive and polyvocal, favoring a plurality of discourses over definitive utterance and freeing the reader from domination by the author'.[2] Where print is centripetal, this new technology is centrifugal, inviting the reader not to follow a single line of logic established by an author but to move associatively through a succession of links of his or her choice.[3] There is no single dominant voice, no controlling point of view; the medium is by nature polyvocal, encouraging the pursuit of different perspectives instead of moving them aside.[4] For this reason the alternative technology is inherently subversive, suspicious of grand narratives that are difficult to impose in a world where texts lead naturally to their own contradictions and where a given position can be taken and rejected simultaneously.[5] This is the world of hypertext, where print gives way to the electronic impulses of the computer. And this is the world in which Virgilian textual and interpretive instability has recently matured.

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[2] Robert Coover, 'The End of Books', *New York Times Book Review*, 21 June 1992, qtd. in Sven Birkerts, *The Gutenberg Elegies: The Fate of Reading in an Electronic Age* (Boston and London: Faber and Faber, 1994), p. 153. For further reflections on the differences between print and electronic media, see Birkerts, *The Gutenberg Elegies*, p. 16.

I want to stress right away that I am not arguing causality here: the pessimistic approach to the *Aeneid* did not arise as a result of the computer, nor does the social construction of texts depend by necessity on the existence of hypertext. The timing, however, is uncanny: the first programmable digital computer was built in the 1940s, early text processing dates from the 1960s, and the development of graphic interface in the 1980s allowed computers to offer a serious alternative to the distribution of text in printed form by the 1990s.[6] And the scholars who advanced the ideas we have been considering were aware of the connection: Jerome McGann, for example, acknowledged that he wrote his *Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* in the same year (1983) as he was introduced to the UNIX computer system and hypermedia, and that he knew then that he would build a hypermedia model, which became *The Rossetti Archive*, to implement his theory of textual editing.[7] I also acknowledge freely that print writers have struggled against their medium, in some cases for centuries, in ways that anticipate the hypertext world. Philosophers like

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[3] Peter L. Schillingsburg, *From Gutenberg to Google* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 49.

[4] Bolter, *Writing Space*, p. ix.

[5] Bolter, *Writing Space*, pp. 152–3; and Adriaan van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds: Towards a Digital Order of Knowledge* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 131, 134–5.

[6] The chronology is clarified by Postman, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology* (New York: Vintage, 1993), p. 110; and Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*, p. 104.

[7] Jerome McGann, *Radiant Textuality: Literature after the World Wide Web* (New York and Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 12, 24, 70–1. McGann notes that a consistent complaint about his *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* is that what he advocates in theory is unrealizable in practice, but in fact this is not true if electronic media are taken into account.

Ludwig Wittgenstein challenged systematic, linear argument, James Joyce serves as a famous example of a writer for whom linear narrative contends with and against vertical allusions and references, and Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* strained against the bounds of the book on multiple levels, with chapters omitted and pages misnumbered, then with the next chapter recounting what would have been in the missing sections.[8] What I am suggesting is that the traditional concept of authorship in the print medium was under attack as early as the 1970s by critics like Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, and Jacques Derrida; that the digital world came into existence at just the right time to support what they had claimed on a philosophical and theoretical level; and that the computer provides a suitable medium for a world in which the centre is gone, stability is an illusion, and all ideals are subject to re-evaluation from multiple perspectives.[9]

The world described here, of course, is the postmodern one. Jean-François Lyotard notes in particular that postmodernism is marked by 'incredulity toward metanarratives', and that in place of these grand narratives the postmodern searches for instabilities, what he calls 'paralogisms', not to reach consensus but to undermine from within the framework in which normal knowledge has been created. The postmodern, he continues, is tied to computerization, which is bound in turn to a certain logic and legitimation of knowledge.[10] This is what we have seen with Virgilian scholarship, in which the traditional interpretive framework and guidelines for textual production have been undermined from within, leaving instabilities where print culture had predicated stable structures. One thinks here of Marshall McLuhan's famous aphorism, that the medium is the message, although I prefer Neil Postman's nuancing of it. Every medium, Postman writes, contains some sort of ideological bias, and when media come into contact with one another, world views collide.[11]

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[8] Bolter, *Writing Space*, pp. 22, 114–16, 132–7.

[9] Bolter, *Writing Space*, p. 156; and Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*, p. 161.

[10] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi, History and Theory of Literature, 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. xxiv–xxv, 3–4, 15, 37, 60–1, and 81. Birkerts, *The Gutenberg Elegies*, pp. 123–4 also stresses the connection between computers and postmodernism.

[11] Postman, *Technopoly*, p. 16.

Not everyone, of course, is happy with this collision and the upheaval that results from it. When asked for his opinion about e-books, Maurice Sendak (1928–2012) declared: 'I hate them. It's like making believe there's another kind of sex. There isn't another kind of sex.'[12] This may sound like simple Luddite crankiness, but dissecting the change with a scalpel rather than a meat cleaver reveals some genuine losses. Sven Birkerts, for example, begins with the loss of faith in the explanatory narratives that have shaped our collective experience and lists other casualties of the electronic revolution: a fragmented sense of time, a reduced attention span and capacity for sustained inquiry, a divorce from our past and from a sense of history, estrangement from geographical place and community, and the absence of a strong vision of both a personal and collective future.[13] There may well be something to this, in the sense that while the electronic revolution frees us from the constraints that are the defining ideology of print, the price of freedom is indeed an unmooring from our familiar points of moral and psychological reference. Be that as it may, the new technologies are here to stay, so that it becomes desirable at this point to speculate in more detail about the effect of the electronic revolution on the reception of Virgil's poetry.

5.3. VIRTUAL VIRGILS

At a time when we are only beginning to grasp how the computer is transforming textuality, print culture remains alive and well, leaving us in a transitional moment that is often characterized by hybridization. My *A Bibliography of the Early Printed Editions of Virgil, 1469–1850*, for example, was begun in an electronic environment—indeed, I had long wanted to produce a census of the early printed editions of Virgil's poetry but had abandoned the project as unrealistic when the only help the computer could offer was basic word processing. Things changed at the turn of the century, when large databases like the Catalogue collectif de France, the English Short Title Catalogue online, viaLibri, and WorldCat[14] offered information on thousands of editions, and programmes like EndNote[15] allowed the manipulation of large amounts of data in electronic form. The project was therefore born digital, and it remained in electronic form through years of information gathering. We are nevertheless not at the point yet when everything can be done electronically: indeed, data from a good number of libraries in Eastern and Central Europe were gathered the old-fashioned way, through letters written to rare books librarians. And since the academic world still privileges print publication over online dissemination, I published the results of my research as a traditional book. Even here, however, the proverbial waters remain muddy. Print publication declares that the project is finished, that everything has been presented in final form, to be preserved as such. Yet work like this is never finished: previously unknown editions emerge continuously as databases are expanded and new books come on to the antiquarian market, so that already, only a year after the appearance of the page proofs froze the files, more than fifty new Virgilian editions have appeared. In fact, since a computer archive can remain open forever, this project is really better suited to that format, so I have opened a supplement to the bibliography on BibSite,[16] to which I will contribute indefinitely. And I have to say that when I use the bibliography, I often access it in its original digital form, since it is much easier to sort data electronically than to use the indices of the printed book and retrieve entries one by one.

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[12] Quoted by Dwight Garner, 'A Farewell, Whispered and Roared', *New York Times*, 15 February 2013, p. C25.

[13] Birkerts, *The Gutenberg Elegies*, pp. 19–21, 27, and 75. To be fair I should note that Birkerts also acknowledges some gains brought about by the new technology: an increased awareness of the 'big picture' and of the complexity of interrelationships, an expanded neural capacity to accommodate a range of stimuli simultaneously, a relativistic comprehension of situations that erodes biases and encourages tolerance, and a willingness in general to try new things.

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[14] The Catalogue collectif de France <http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/index.jsp>, accessible through the web page of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, is an online union catalogue containing data from a growing number of French libraries. The English Short Title Catalogue <http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc>, managed through the British Library and accessible through their web page, contains information on over 460,000 items published before 1801 and located now in over 2,000 libraries, mainly in the British Isles and North America. ViaLibri <http://www.vialibri.net/>, owned and operated by Hinck and Wall in Edmonds, WA, allows searches of many of the world's largest sites for the sale of antiquarian books through one search engine. WorldCat <https://www.worldcat.org/>, maintained by the OCLC Online Computer Library Center, Inc., is an online database of books and articles that is accessible through member libraries. Endnote is a software programme available through Thomson Reuters through which bibliographical data can be managed and printed. All websites in this chapter were last accessed on April 21, 2014.

[15] <http://endnote.com/>.

[16] Maintained by the Bibliographical Society of America, BibSite <http://bibsocamer.org/bibsite-home/> offers online access to various bibliographical resources, including additions and corrections to previously published works.

A similar ambiguity prevails when we explore other aspects of Virgil's position in the current digital environment. The logical beginning place is Project Gutenberg.[17] Access is free and the text is generally presented in the original seven-bit ASCII, which can be read on almost any electronic device, but it comes with severe limitations: advanced data manipulation can only be done with the relatively small number of books available in HTMO or XML, only books that are out of copyright can be digitized, and despite valiant efforts at quality control, scanning and typing are done by volunteers whose technical abilities and capacity to understand what they are reading inevitably vary. And with a focus on books that many people will use frequently, one suspects that this might not be the best venue for works by and about Virgil. There are in fact only a dozen entries under his name, containing a Latin text, several English versions, and translations into Finnish and Greek. In a number of cases, moreover, including the Latin text and the most popular English translation, no information is given about which edition was used, and even when this information is available, it accompanies a text that has been stripped of all its material elements.

At this point we have Internet access to a number of sites that preserve some of the material aspects of some early printed editions. The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, for example, is in the process of digitizing all of its incunables in addition to those books that appeared in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in a German-speaking area.[18] The library also offers reproductions of the illustrations in some 200 editions of Virgil printed between 1502 and 1840,[19] a project carried out under the direction of Professor

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[17] Project Gutenberg <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/> is a digital library founded by Michael Hart in 1971 that contained some 45,350 books in April, 2014.

[18] <http://www.muenchener-digitalisierungszentrum.de/index.html?c=kurzsammlungen&l=de>.

[19] Digitization within the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is managed through the Münchener DigitalisierungZentrum, which had completed work on over one million items, not all of which are from the library's own collections, in April, 2014. The collection of illustrated Virgilian editions is part of this larger project: <http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=kurzauswahl&l=de&adr=daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/ausgaben/uni_ausgabe.html?projekt=1123596568>.

Werner Suerbaum. Equally promising are resources like Early English Books Online (EEBO), which aims to produce digital facsimiles of books printed in Great Britain and the U.S. through to 1700, and Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO), which extends the scope through the following century.[20] Again much remains to be done here, but as of February 2013 EEBO offered access to 125 Virgilian editions and ECCO another 184. Here we have digitized copies that reproduce many, although not all, the material features of the books, but without a transcribed text that can be searched or manipulated in any way. EEBO has initiated the Text Creation Partnership (TCP) to create SGML coding for the texts of thousands of EEBO works, which will allow searches of the ASCII text while viewing both text and the original page images, with the first results now becoming available. These projects, however, are the product of an earlier technology (many of the images are digital versions of microfilms) and again at present are not fully integrated into the computerized environment.

The Perseus Digital Library[21] seems more promising, since it was created by a classicist almost thirty years ago as a digital environment for the study of Greek and Latin texts. If we check out what there is for Virgil, we find, first, a digital copy of J. B. Greenough's Latin text (1900). The text is accompanied by linguistic support (cross references to Lewis and Short's Latin dictionary and Anne Mahoney's *Overview of Latin Syntax*), contextualized reading (translations by John Dryden (1631–1700) and Theodore C. Williams (1855–1915) and commentaries by Georg Thilo (1831–93) and John Conington (1825–69)), and the foundation for basic visualization (e.g. cross-referencing includes archaeological material and images). The site supports basic word searches, through Virgil's poems and throughout the corpus of classical texts in the database. This is certainly useful, to a point, but the specifically Virgilian material is limited and the choice of texts seems driven more by copyright restrictions than the needs of current scholarship. And notwithstanding the claims on the site to include, for example, manuscript pages linked to texts and translations, there are no links in the Virgilian sections to previous material versions of the texts.

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[20] EEBO <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home/>, maintained through ProQuest Chadwyck Healey, and ECCO <http://mlr.com/DigitalCollections/products/ecco/>, a Gale Digital Collection within Cengage, are commercial products that allow online access after payment of a fee, usually by a subscribing library. Dane, *What Is a Book?*, p. 221 notes that projects like EEBO take an individual exemplar of an edition and put it forth not as a unique object, but as *the* version of a book that is endlessly reproducible in exactly the same form. This, as we have seen, is what the printing press is often said to do, but does not, so that ironically, as Dane notes, it has taken the computer to accomplish what the hand press originally set out to do.

[21] Perseus <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/> is a non-profit enterprise located in the Department of Classics at Tufts University and edited by Gregory R. Crane.

To the best of my knowledge the digital resources currently available for Virgil remain limited, but it is easy to imagine what might come into existence if we use, say, the Rossetti Archive as a model.[22] This site focuses on the artistic and literary works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82):

> Completed in 2008 to the plan laid out in 1993, the Archive provides students and scholars with access to all of DGR's pictorial and textual works and to a large contextual corpus of materials, most drawn from the period when DGR's work first appeared and established its reputation (approximately 1848–1920), but some stretching back to the 14th-century sources of his Italian translations. All documents are encoded for structured search and analysis. The Rossetti Archive aims to include high-quality digital images of every surviving documentary state of DGR's works: all the manuscripts, proofs, and original editions, as well as the drawings, paintings, and designs of various kinds, including his collaborative photographic and craft works. These primary materials are transacted with a substantial body of editorial commentary, notes, and glosses.

It is immediately apparent that this project was conceived from the beginning to take advantage of all the things that a computer, and only a computer, can do. Images reproduce the material form of Rossetti's work, in all its stages. This allows for recognition of the multiple forces that generate texts, of what happens when those forces interact, and of the interrelationships between various versions of the 'same' text. The texts are coded to allow for sophisticated manipulation and analysis of data, all of which happens in context. Links allow the user to access relevant notes and glosses to the source text, then to make connections between that text and others. The result is an electronic archive that fosters the connection between text and interpretation, giving due recognition to the importance of material form in literary studies.

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[22] The Rosetti Archive <http://www.rossettiarchive.org/browser.html>, directed by Jerome McGann, is distributed by the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities at the University of Virginia and Nineteenth-Century Scholarship Online. The process by which the Rossetti Archive was conceived and constructed is detailed in McGann, *Radiant Textuality*, pp. 1–166.

Virgil has played a much greater role in the development of Western culture than Rossetti, so a Virgil Archive would have to be a massive undertaking. The main problem would be one of scale: Rossetti published only five books in his lifetime, but the number of Virgilian editions runs into the thousands. Even if sufficient resources could be brought to bear, it is unlikely for the foreseeable future that the logistical problems could be overcome so that a Virgil Archive could include a copy of every book and manuscript containing a Virgilian text. It would actually be good to have multiple copies of each, both because no two books printed on a hand press are really identical, as we have seen, and because copy-specific data provide invaluable information about who owned a book or manuscript and how it was used. Realistically, then, a Virgil Archive would always remain open, with new material being added as it becomes available. This means that information derived from it would always remain provisional.

What kinds of work could be done in the near future, given the technology now available, and how could it logically be extended to things we can imagine, like a Virgil Archive? The logical starting place would be web portals like TAPoR (Text Analysis Portal for Research) and DiRT (Digital Research Tools, at Project Bamboo), which offer access to a variety of specialized sites for text mining and the like.[23] The sites linked to these portals allow the user to analyse texts, to brainstorm, to build and share collections of data, to manage bibliographical information, to network with other researchers, to search visually, to publish and share information, to annotate texts, and to visualize data. It is difficult, of course, to anticipate what will result from future research that relies on tools like this, but it is possible to predict some general trends, based on what is now happening to Virgilian studies in the digital world.

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[23] TAPoR <http://www.tapor.ca/> is a project led by Geoffrey Rockwell, Stefan Sinclair, and Kirsten C. Uszkalo and housed at the University of Alberta. Bamboo DiRT <http://dirt.projectbamboo.org/>, a tool, service, and collection registry of digital research tools for scholarly use, was developed through a collaboration between Bamboo Partner Institutions (UC Berkeley, U Chicago, UW Madison), Bamboo affiliates (University of Alabama, NINES), and a number of interested individuals. I would like to express my appreciation here to Dr Jacob Heil, Postdoctoral Research Associate with the Initiative for Digital Humanities, Media, and Culture (IDHMC) at Texas A&M, who oriented me toward the resources described in the next several paragraphs and helped me see some of the research possibilities offered by the new technologies. Specific programmes mentioned in the text can be accessed through TAPoR.

First, the computer gives a greater element of control to the user than the reader customarily has had with a printed book. To be sure, a book can be read adversarially, with the reader exerting his or her right to resist the text that is being consumed: Harold Bloom demonstrated how this works within the process of literary creation,[24] and Anna Battagelli has paid special attention to marginal notes in early English books that show readers arguing with their texts.[25] But in general printed books encourage a relatively passive acceptance of what the author proposes, in contrast to the fundamental characteristic of the digital environment, which is bi-directionality.[26] Simply to receive the initial communication, one has to turn on the computer and execute a series of commands, and in most cases the text that appears allows, indeed calls for, a response. This may involve having a conversation in response to the text, but it often involves changing the text as well, which on a certain level means producing an edition. As Peter L. Schillingsburg puts it, 'what readers should be able to do is second guess the editor, make local notes and changes in the emendations or new emendations, and create links, extract quotations, and trace themes using electronic tools associated with the edition'.[27] Schillingsburg continues that there are currently five approaches to editing in the computer age, based on different first premises: the text belongs to the author, whose will must be respected; the author must enter into a series of social contracts to publish, each of which should be acknowledged; editors can only work with documents, each of which represents a different version of a work and must be taken into account; every copy of every edition is unique, making each reading experience unique; or the work is always no more than an aesthetic potential, to be actualized into whatever the editor or reader thinks is best.[28] What is striking here is that four of these five possibilities shift the focus away from the author to one or more readers. It is reasonable to expect that this new environment will have an enormous impact on how texts of literary works are made, for by using tools like Versioning Machine to display multiple versions of a text and Juxta to collate them, anyone can be an editor and make his or her own version of the *Aeneid*. And anyone can make a commentary that is tailor-made to personal needs, using programmes like Lexico to create *lemmata*.

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[24] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[25] Anna Battagelli, 'John Dryden's Angry Readers', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, edited by Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 261–81.

[26] Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*, pp. 158–62. See also Bolter, *Writing Space*, pp. 153–5.

[27] Schillingsburg, *From Gutenberg to Google*, p. 83.

When it comes to interpreting a text, reader-response criticism has taught us that we tend to respond to cues in the text that resonate with our own life experiences.[29] Here generalization is difficult, but one of the striking aspects of life at the beginning of the twenty-first century is that the hierarchical social structures of the past are being replaced by a network of shifting voluntary associations that move horizontally rather than vertically. As Jay David Bolter notes, 'our culture of interconnections both reflects and is reflected in our new technology of writing. With all these transitions, the making and breaking of social links, people are beginning to function as elements in a hypertextual network of affiliations.'[30] Our communication patterns, in other words, are connected to the deeper structures with which we think and interact with others, and this in turn encourages us to respond to similar cues in what we read. The traditional interpretation of the *Aeneid* corresponded well to the hierarchical social structures that prevailed in the print culture of early modern Europe and America, but following the student revolts of the sixties and the evolution of more egalitarian societies, many readers are now attuned to hearing the 'further voices' in the text and to reading the poem as a meditation on the costs of big government, authoritarian control, and dominance by the elites. To be sure, computers could aid immeasurably in solidifying the role of Virgil's poetry in shoring up the old order: one can envision massive databases containing the dedicatees from the paratexts of older editions or the names of those who owned such editions, which could be cross-referenced to educational and socio-economic data to place Virgil into an ever-increasing nexus of interconnected power relationships. But it is more likely, I think, that as the generation of readers whose entire life experience has been formed in a digital environment, where everyone is equal and authority is suspect, comes of age, the so-called 'pessimistic' reading will continue to gain ground, especially in the Anglo-American world, where computerization has made rapid initial gains.[31]

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[28] Schillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age*, 3rd edn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

[29] See, for example, the seminal works of Iser, *The Act of Reading*; and Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*.

[30] Bolter, *Writing Space*, pp. 232–3.

As Michael C. J. Putnam has explained, his subversive interpretation of the *Aeneid* relies on what he has called 'careful reading', which involves paying close attention to lexical usage, verbal echoes, narrative strategy, typology, and figures of speech to show how earlier sections anticipate later ones, particularly what happens in the crucial ending scene.[32] This method has deep roots that extend through the New Criticism of the twentieth century into philology as it has been practiced for centuries.[33] Print culture has supplied plenty of resources for this work, especially through concordances and Virgilian dictionaries that go back to the efforts of Nicola Rossi (called Erythraeus, sixteenth century, LW1538–1539.1), Charles de la Rue (LW1675.1), and Laurent le Brun (1608–63, Di1683.1), all of which were reprinted for decades after their initial appearances.[34] But there is little question that word searches are something that computers do quickly and well, with programmes like Beta Voyant, Word Smith, Feature Lens, and MONK able to identify patterns in verbal repetition, and Wordle and Gephi offering visualizations of what has been found. It would be reasonable to predict that work done with these tools will support what Putnam and his colleagues have been doing in Virgilian studies. To be fair, there is a countereffect to computerization that merits some thought here: Sven Birkerts has argued passionately and eloquently that electronic media encourage precisely the opposite kind of reading, in which linguistic complexity is levelled into a sort of plain speech and readers find it more and more difficult to recognize things like irony, ambiguity, and allusion.[35] This may well be true, and if so it does not bode well for the capacity of linguistically complex poetry like that of Virgil to appeal to the mass audiences of the future. But I would still argue that those who do read the *Aeneid* in the coming decades will have the ability to subject the text to a new level of detailed scrutiny, should they choose to do so, and that this kind of reading will continue to support the non-traditional interpretation that has gained ground along with the rise of computerization.

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[31] Postman, *Technopoly*, describes technopoly as 'the submission of all forms of cultural life to the sovereignty of technique and technology' (p. 52), and argues that it has proved especially pervasive in the United States, in part due to what he sees as a typically American distrust of constraints and devaluation of traditional beliefs (pp. 52–5).

[32] Putnam, *The Humannness of Heroes*, pp. 12–17.

[33] This point is made by David Rijser in his afterward to Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, p. 137.

[34] References in this chapter to specific Virgilian editions are to my *A Bibliography*.

The printed book fosters a sense of closure, in the sense that we read ahead linearly, under the guidance of the author, in the expectation that the argument will come to its conclusion as the pages run out. In an electronic environment, closure is elusive: texts are subject to further revision, more information always becomes available to enter the database, and one interpretation invites another as new networks of readers form and dissolve.[36] An extension of this process occurs when Virgilian elements enter into video games. One of the better-selling games of 2010, for example, was *Dante's Inferno*. As the poem on which this game is based shows, the receiving artist has always been free to elaborate on or recast entirely his or her source material, but the new media encourage an even greater independence between the original and what has been inspired by it: in this case, for example, Beatrice is saved by her Crusader Knight Dante, not the other way around. Virgil, however, remains Dante's guide and an important player, and it is worth noting that there is also a wiki associated with the game. This web application that allows content to be developed collaboratively and extended by hyperlinks is consciously designed to anchor Virgil into his classical roots at the same time as the game itself pulls away from those roots. Basic information about Virgil's life and work is provided, along with elaboration of his role in Dante's poem, all of which is considered important enough to the game that it needs to be explained to any player who does not understand it.[37]

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[35] Birkerts, *The Gutenberg Elegies*, pp. 128–9.

[36] Bolter, *Writing Space*, p. 87; and Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*, pp. 142–7.

[37] The wiki for *Dante's Inferno* may be found at <http://dantesinferno.wikia.com/wiki/Virgil> (accessed 7 October 2014). This site is one of 370,000 wikis spread over

A fascinating example of how far this process can go is seen in *Shroud of the Avatar*, a computer role-playing game that was being developed online at the time this book was being completed. The creators, 'Lord British' (i.e. Richard Garriott), Starr Long, and Tracy Hickman, set out to build a game in which 'players will adventure in an interactive world where their choices have consequences, ethical paradoxes give them pause, and they play a vital part in weaving their own story into the immersive world and lore surrounding them'. Not only is play interactive, however, but so is the construction of the game: '*Shroud* is crowd funded and that allows the developers to work directly for, and with, the player, versus working for a large publishing corporation. *Shroud* is also crowd sourced so players can submit Unity compatible content (art, sfx, music, world building, etc).' One of the 'new adventurers' in this game is named Aeneas. It is difficult to say for sure how well the people who were building this game knew the *Aeneid*, but they must have known something since the name is unusual and Aeneas fits well into a virtual world in which heroic combat is tied to past history, 'choices have consequences', and 'ethical paradoxes give them [the players] pause'.[38] By this point, the Virgilian material is bound even less loosely to Virgil's text than it was in *Dante's Inferno*, but that is precisely the point: in the computerized world, control shifts from the author to the reader, who exercises a creative power over words and ideas that would have been unimaginable when they were in manuscript or print form. It is impossible to predict now where all this will end, but there is no question that the future of Virgilian studies—or at least part of that future—lies here.

5.4. RECEPTION AND THE MATERIAL BOOK, II: CONCLUSION

To conclude this study, I would like to return to the section from Charles Martindale's *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* that I quoted in Chapter 1. Martindale proposed

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all areas of popular culture and maintained by Wikia, Inc., a platform for collaborative media publishing that was founded in 2006 and is headquartered in San Francisco.

[38] For details on how *Shroud of the Avatar* was constructed, see <https://www.shroudoftheavatar.com> (accessed 7 October 2014).

> two theses, one 'weak' and the other 'strong'. The weak thesis is that numerous unexplored insights into ancient literature are locked up in imitations, translations and so forth . . . The 'strong' thesis is that our current interpretations of ancient texts, whether or not we are aware of it, are, in complex ways, constructed by the chain of receptions through which their continued readability has been effected. As a result we cannot get back to any originary meaning wholly free of subsequent accretions.[39]

What we have seen in the preceding four chapters initially seems to confirm Martindale's strong thesis. At the end of the twentieth century, for example, there were two major approaches to the *Aeneid*: the so-called 'optimistic' one, which reads the poem as a panegyric of Aeneas and the emperor who supported him, and a 'pessimistic' one that emphasizes the failings of Virgil's hero and the costs of establishing the Roman empire. The dominant approach, the 'optimistic' one, extends all the way back to Rome itself and can be followed through an unbroken chain of books and manuscripts that link Virgil's poetry to the religious, political, and intellectual elites that defined themselves in relation to it. Here, as elsewhere, power engendered resistance, and those who situated themselves on the margins rather than at the centre of power also used Virgilian commentaries, prefaces, and illustrations to develop the 'pessimistic' approach, whose roots, again, go back to antiquity.

If we look more closely at the manuscripts, printed books, and computer files that connect us to Virgil, the metaphor of the chain turns out to be valid in a new way as well, provided that we modify it slightly to account for what we have found. Virgilian manuscripts, for example, resemble the Bible through their iconography and codex form, and this reminds us that Virgil's place in medieval culture depended on his role as a propaedeutic, a text through which Latin, the language of the church, was learned. Once we focus on Virgil's role in the religious education of the period, we can see more clearly just how compatible Aeneas's journey is with that of the Christian Everyman and why medieval readers sought to stabilize the meaning of Virgil's poetry by anchoring it in Christian truth. From this perspective it made sense to read *Eclogue* 4 as a prophecy of Christ, which moved Virgil into the centre of Christian literary culture. Hardly anyone reads Virgil like this today, however.

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[39] Martindale, *Redeeming the Text*, p. 7.

The same thing is true of the way in which Virgil was generally read in the Renaissance. As we have seen, Renaissance readers approached Virgil's poetry in search of gems of moral wisdom and elegant phrases they could use in their own Latin compositions. That is, the dominant way of reading involved breaking the text apart, placing the fragments into moral and stylistic categories, then copying them into the commonplace books that served as sources for what the reader later said and wrote. The relevant passages were marked off on the pages of Renaissance editions of Virgil, and the indexing notes in the margins indicate the categories into which the reader was placing the passages. Sometimes the commonplace books themselves were published, as a reorganization of Virgil's text according to Renaissance interests. This reorganization destabilizes Virgil's text in a new way, highlighting the fact that changes in reading practices inevitably generate not one authoritative Virgil, but a succession of Virgils. The hermeneutic chain that carried the practice of reading Virgil in commonplaces, however, broke off as well, as the unmarked pages of the eighteenth-century printed editions show: by then, most people had stopped reading Virgil in this way.

The illustrations in the early printed editions of Virgil turn out to represent another series of reception chains that do not reach into the twenty-first century. The woodcuts in the famous 1502 Brant edition, for example, remind us immediately that we do not see the world through this lens, in which everything is out of perspective and multiple moments coexist simultaneously. We cannot label our era as baroque either, where movement and emotion are foregrounded, but we are if anything even further removed from the neoclassical, with its rigid formalism, its exaltation of grandeur, and its intellectual coldness. To be sure, Virgil's poetry continues to be published in illustrated editions in the modern era: one thinks, for example, of Maillol's illustrations of the *Eclogues*.[40] But pictures like this are very much the product of the modern age. The earlier styles died out, and modern movements like cubism and abstract expressionism arose in a deliberate effort to break with the past, giving us a visual environment in which the same text dissolves repeatedly into a series of re-envisionings.

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[40] *Die Eclogen Vergils in der Ursprache und Deutsch übersetzt von Rudolf Alexander Schroeder: Mit Illustrationen gezeichnet und geschnitten von Aristide Maillol* (Weimar: Cranach Press, 1926). The book is described in Kallendorf, *A Catalogue*, pp. 443–4 (G1914–1926).

Indeed, as we have seen, period concepts like baroque and neoclassicism represent the very sort of grand narrative that has come under the greatest pressure in our postmodern age. Printing was supposed to have stabilized Virgil's text, but it did not, while the parallel effort to ground the interpretation of Virgil's text in what the author intended now seems similarly doomed. The proper medium for polyvocality, reader empowerment, and lack of closure is the computer, and while we are just now beginning to see what forms the digital Virgil will take, it is likely that here, too, the chain metaphor can benefit from further discussion. An environment in which each reader can create his or her own Virgilian text as a basis for his or her own interpretation is a deeply destabilizing one that seems to have few obvious links to past practice.

If indeed 'our current interpretations of ancient texts, whether or not we are aware of it, are, in complex ways, constructed by the chain of receptions through which their continued readability has been effected',[41] then it would stand to reason that those current interpretations should be similar to the past readings to which they are bound. Careful attention to the material form in which past readers encountered Virgil's poetry, however, suggests that this is not always the case. Others have begun to notice this as well. David Scott Wilson-Okamura, for example, used a good number of early printed books in preparing his *Virgil in the Renaissance*, although his project did not involve thinking self-consciously about the relationship between form and content. Rather he set out 'to identify what seems normal, central, common . . . the chitchat about Virgil that could be exchanged over cocktails without fear of contradiction, because educated people had all learned more or less the same things in the course of their schooling, and could be expected to hold compatible views'.[42] For Renaissance commentators, the plot of the *Eclogues* revolved around Virgil's quest for patronage. The most popular commentaries on the *Georgics* focused on variety, on the wide range of subjects discussed in the poem and Virgil's versatility in treating them. Criticism of the *Aeneid* revolved around 'purity', both as it refers to Virgil's sexual purity and to the careful polishing of the text, which was licked into shape as a she-bear licks her cubs. These points are certainly not unknown in modern criticism, but they are not necessarily the ones I discuss with my students: where is 'labor omnia vincit' ('work conquers all things', *Georg.* 1.145), for example? And if I were to stress purity in discussing the *Aeneid*, what would I do with Virgil's well-known predilection for adolescent boys? When we move to criticism of particular passages and sections of Virgil's poems, Wilson-Okamura is struck even more by the 'otherness' of Renaissance commentaries, the ideas that were widely disseminated then but not now. Discussion of *Aeneid* 6, for example, regularly led to a consideration of the various ways in which one might 'descend to the underworld'—i.e. the soul enters the body, the person contemplates vice, etc. The second half of the poem was regularly analysed as a manifestation of Aeneas's perfection, and while the death of Turnus was certainly commented on, it was not seen as the defining moment of the poem as it is today. Love was recognized as a theme in the *Aeneid*, but Book 4 became the model for romances like Ariosto's that rest on a reading of Virgil that strikes most modern critics as the polar opposite of the renunciation they see the *Aeneid* advocating.

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[41] Martindale, *Redeeming the Text*, p. 7.

[42] Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, pp. 9, 48.

I think that Wilson-Okamura is on to something here, and that the Renaissance Virgil is in fact more alien to the modern one than we have generally recognized. If this is so, then we can return to Martindale's unbroken chain metaphor and modify it to describe how a materialized reception works. While it is true, I think, that most (if not all) of our modern interpretations of Virgil are simply the last link in a hermeneutic chain that extends hundreds of years in the past, it is not true that every past interpretation links on to the chain that reaches us. This requires a frank recognition that Christian readings of the fourth *Eclogue* will not help modern readers recover what the poem might have meant in Virgil's culture, and that the textual fragments found in Orazio Toscanella's *Osservationi . . . sopra l'opere di Virgilio* are not helpful in determining what Virgil may have originally written. But while such a recognition complicates contemporary Virgilian scholarship in a way that may well disappoint some scholars, I would argue that something significant is gained along the way. Because we are who we are, it is easier to see, and appreciate, those interpretations that link us directly to our scholarly predecessors. But as I hope to have shown in this book, the more interesting links on the chain are often the ones that do not reach us, for they show us that the past is not simply a version of the present, but something that is sometimes strange and wonderful in its very otherness. And as I also hope to have shown, many of these dead links are material, in the sense that many of the readings that do not reach us directly today can only be found in the material forms of the past, forms that we ignore at our peril if we really want to do reception right.

I hope that this study has shown us something new about Virgil. I also hope it might provide a model for how to do reception histories of other authors. As someone writing at the beginning of the twenty-first century, my scepticism towards one-size-fits-all scholarship makes me doubt whether the particular hermeneutic chains revealed here will prove helpful even for other classical authors, much less vernacular writers of later periods. But I do think that, if we get into the habit of looking at the material form in which a text is encountered and of asking what the relationships between the two might be, we will get a richer, more interesting kind of literary history, one that embraces the importance of the material while returning book history to the centre of literary studies in a new and exciting way.

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